

Intra-dynastic and Inter-Tai Conflicts in the Old Kingdom of Moeng Lü in Southern Yunnan¹

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Introduction

Power struggles within ruling houses are a classic problem causing the weakening of dynasties and inviting foreign invasions. The Tai polities in pre-modern Asia were no exception. This recurrent problem is documented not only in contemporary Chinese sources, but also in the various versions of the Tai chronicles that the present writer has investigated. The present article focuses on the example of the Tai Lü polity, namely Moeng Lü (better known as Sipsòng Panna), which was founded in the twelfth century in present-day southern Yunnan along what Jon Fernquest has called the “Tai Frontier.”² When waging fratricidal wars or committing fratricide to gain the throne was concerned, the traditional Tai polities in this frontier between China and the large lowland polities of mainland Southeast Asia were no better than the ruling houses of medieval Europe and China.

As a rule, the line of succession of the ruling house of the Tai Lü was by right of primogeniture, except in the first reign, when Cao Phaya Coeng (r. 1180–1192/1159–1180 CE) made his youngest son the crown prince. The first fratricide took place as early as the reign of Cao Phaya Coeng’s grandson, Ai Kung (r. 1201–1206). From then on, civil wars culminating in invitations of help from neighbouring Tai polities became

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² Jon Fernquest, “Crucible of War: Burma and the Ming in the Tai Frontier Zone (1382-1454),” *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research* 4.2 (Autumn, 2006): 34.

a recurrent phenomenon. The first well-documented and major fratricidal conflict between the two cousins Tao Kü Moeng's (r. 1413–1415/1433–1436) brother Tao Kham Tet (r. 1417–1428/1442–1445) and Sūa Luang Fa (r. 1446–1466) and their descendants, took place immediately after the death of Tao Sida Kham (r. 1350–1430). It ended almost four decades later when Tao Sam Po Lütai (r. 1467–1490), the youngest son of Tao Kü Moeng, regained his father's throne.

The Mekong River not only divided the Tai Lü polities into eastern and western parts, but often also the loyalties of the *cao moeng* of Moeng Lü. Lan Na troops and Moeng Laem troops were involved in these civil wars. The next well-documented civil war took place in the reign of Tao Thai Kho (r. 1764–1770) and, this time, foreign involvement came in the form of the rising power from the west, the Burmese. These are also recorded in contemporary Chinese sources. This article provides a survey of the major civil wars that involved the support of foreign troops.

Location and History

In the mid- to late twelfth century, a Tai noble, Cao Phaya Coeng (Li: r. 1180–1192/Gao: 1159–1180),³ founded Moeng Lü (the polity of the Lü), later known as Sipsòng Panna (the confederation of twelve *panna*), in what is today southern Yunnan.⁴ Moeng Lü's neighbours were Lan Na (in present-day northern Thailand), Laos (Lan Sang), Chiang Tung (Moeng Khün in present-day Burma), and Moeng Laem (in present-day Yunnan). The northern boundary of the ancient Moeng Lü bordered on Moeng La (Simao) and Moeng Bò (Jinggu). Moeng Lae (in present-day Jiangcheng) to the east and Moeng Thalang (Mojiang) to the north were also under Moeng Lü.

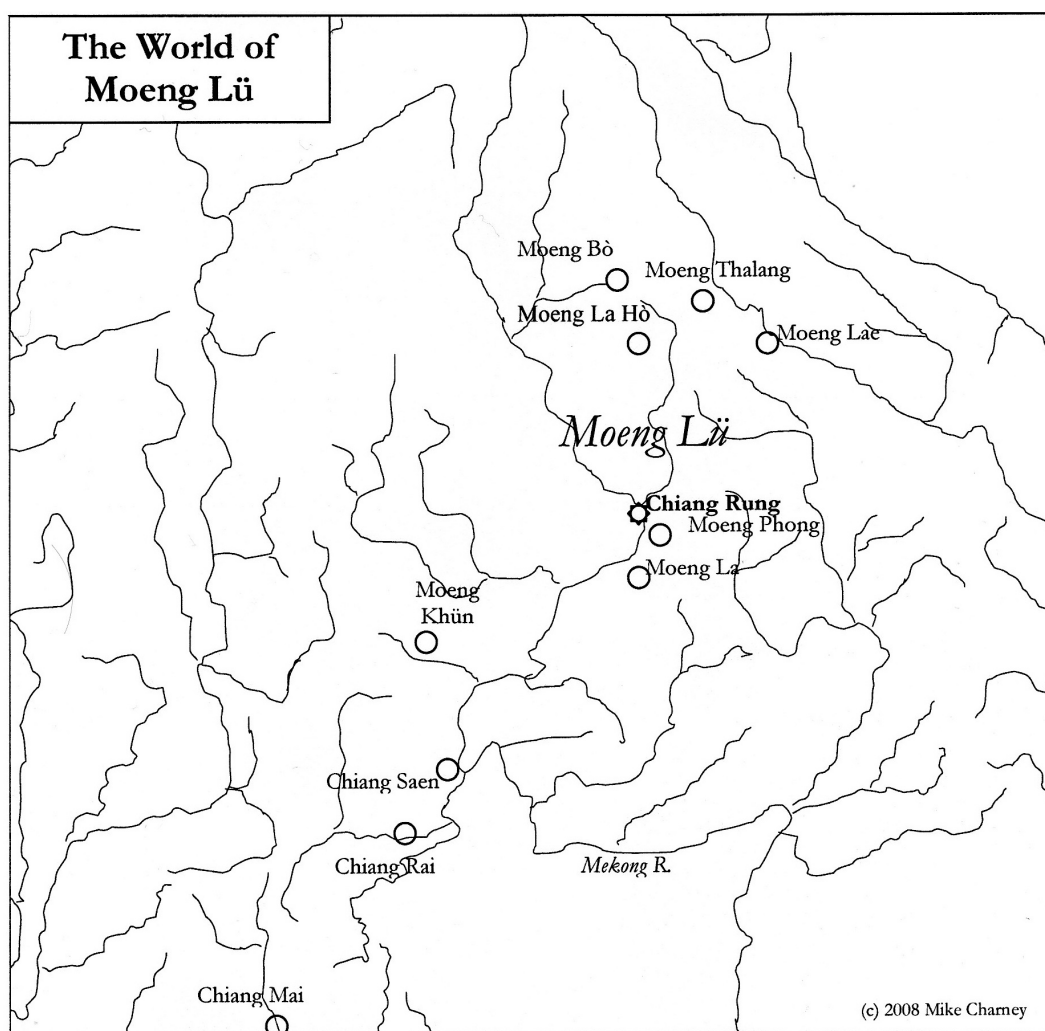
³ The dates given follow that of Li Fuyi (1947), followed by the dates given in Gao Lishi (1984). The dates given in Gao Lishi are similar to those given in the 1963-Chronicle of Tai Lü. Li Fuyi 李拂一, *Leshi* 潞史 (History of Moeng Lü) (Kunming: Wenjian shuju, 1947), translated into English by Liew Foon Ming; in manuscript, and Gao Lishi 高力士, “*Xishuang Banna zhaopianling sishisi shi shimo* 西雙版納召片領四十四世始末” [The History of Forty-four reigns of Cao Phaendin of Sipsòng Panna], (Yunnan: Minzu diaocha yanjiu, No. 2, 1984): pp. 102–131, translated into English by Liew Foon Ming, in manuscript.

⁴ Phaya Coeng is revered among the Tai peoples of mainland Southeast Asia. He is their cultural hero, either as a historical hero or a Tai mythical king.



Before the expansion of Burma and the arrival of the French, a great part of present-day Phong Sali in Laos, i.e., the region north of Moeng Sai, belonged to the outer *moeng* of Moeng Lü. The domain of the old Moeng Lü, before the outer subordinate polities (*moeng*) were ceded to adjacent lands for various reasons, was much larger. Present-day Sipsòng Panna, which has an area of less than twenty thousand square kilometres, is merely the core region of former Moeng Lü.⁵

⁵ Modern Sipsòng Panna is divided into three counties—Jinghong (6,958 sq. km), Menghai (5,511 sq. km), and Mengla (7,093 sq. km), and this makes a total area of 19,562 sq. km. Before 1896, when Moeng U-Nüa and Moeng U-Tae were ceded to what was then French Indochina (now in Phong Sali of Laos), and Simao (Moeng La) was placed under direct Chinese rule in 1913, Sipsòng Panna had an area of ca. 25,000 sq. km. However, Sipsòng Panna, after successive years of civil wars and foreign invasions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was sparsely



According to the *Chronicles of Moeng Lü* (*Nangsü pün Moeng Lü/Sipsòng Panna*), edited by contemporary Tai Lü scholars from several old Tai Lü manuscript-copies, the Kingdom of the Lü, which had a history of more than seven and a half centuries, had forty-four rulers.⁶ The last ruler, Cao Moeng Kham Lü (i.e., Dao Shi-xun 刀世勳, r.

populated at the beginning of the last century. According to the census taken in the 1920s, there were only 168,390 people and among them eighty percent were Tai Lü. See Li Fuyi, Cheli 車里 [Sipsòng Panna], in *Shidi xiao congsbu* 史地小叢書 [Collectanea of History and Geography] (Shangwu yinshu guan, 1933).

⁶ According to Gao Lishi (1984), from Phaya Coeng to Cao Moeng Kham Lü there were forty-four rulers (similar to the 1963-Tai Lü Chronicle). But according to Li Fuyi (1947), from Phaya Coeng to Dao Zheng-zong (Cao Suca Wanna Laca) there were thirty-seven rulers. Cao Suca Wanna Laca was the thirty-ninth ruler according to Gao Lishi (1984).

1947–1950), abdicated his throne in 1950 after control of Yunnan was wrested from Kuomintang forces by the People's Liberation Army. In 1953, Sipsòng Panna was reorganised into a type of “Autonomous Sub-prefecture of Sipsòng Panna of the Tai Nationality.” Cao Moeng Kham Lü is now living in Kunming.

Moeng Lü, the old name of Sipsòng Panna, survived in the south of China until 1950. During this period, China was ruled by four consecutive dynasties: the Southern Song (1127–1279), the Yuan (1280–1368), the Ming (1368–1644), and the Qing (1644–1911), as well as the Republican Period (1912–1949). Interestingly, this Tai polity had always been known as Cheli 徹里 or 車里 to China and the peoples were called *baiyi*.⁷

The founder of the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127) was not interested in having diplomatic contacts with the southern tribal kingdoms in Yunnan because of the bad experience of the preceding dynasty, the Tang (618–907), with the Kingdom of Nanzhao (728–902). The successor of Nanzhao was Dali (937–1094), which was later taken by the so-called Later Dali (1096–1253). In 1253, Moeng-k'o T'ier-mu-er (r. 1251–1259) conquered Dali and Yunnan was officially incorporated into the domain of China under the Yuan Dynasty (1280–1368). Since then, the name Cheli appears in the Chinese records, in particular that of the Ming (1368–1644) and of the Qing (1644–1911) periods.

As far as the present author is aware, the first six kings of Moeng Lü (Cao Phaya Coeng, Sam Khai Noeng, Ai Kung, Tao Hung Kaen Cai, Tao Haeng Luang, and Tao Puwak) are not recorded in the Chinese sources prior to the Yuan dynasty (1280–1368), that is, during the Southern Song period (1127–1279). The name Cheli first appears in the Chinese sources in the *History of the Yuan Dynasty (Yuanshi)* in 1284 CE:

In the year Zhiyuan 21 (1284; CS 646), [...] Furthermore, [Bulu-he-da 步魯合答] participated in a military campaign against the land of Babai-xifu 八百媳婦國 (Lan Na). [They] arrived at Cheli 車厘 (Moeng Lü). Cheli is where their

⁷ The two common transcriptions of Baiyi are *Baiyi* 擺夷 or *Baiyi* 百夷. The first *Baiyi* can be interpreted as “the barbarians who celebrate the *Pai* ceremony;” the later *Baiyi* is the Chinese rendering of the various Tai peoples in Yunnan.

chieftain resides. The prince Kuokuo 闊 闊 ordered Bu-lu-he-da to command 300 mobile cavalry and proceed to persuade them to submit. As they refused to listen, troops were marched to conquer them. The chief military commissioner (*du zhenfu*) Hou Zheng 侯 正 was killed. Bu-lu-he-da destroyed the wood of the Northern Gate, entered the stockade-village, and the land [of Cheli] was pacified. [...].⁸

Not long afterwards, in a record dated 1290, we learn that Cheli had submitted to China. According to Li Fuyi (1947), it was in the reign of Cao Phaya Coeng (r. 1180–1192). According to Gao Lishi (1984), however, it occurred during the reign of Sam Khai Noeng (r. 1180–1201). As the *Yuanshi* relates,

In the year Zhiyuan 27, Autumn, 7th month, on *bingyin* day (1290 CE; CS 652), the chieftains of the Baiyi (generic term for the Tai peoples) from a total of eleven *dian* (villages/polities) of Sheli 闍 力 (namely Cheli) in Yunnan submitted and adhered to China.⁹

Cao Ai (r. 1287–1347/1271–1311) is mentioned in a record dated 1326 of the *History of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuanshi*). He was the *Cao Phaendin* (lord of the land) of the Greater Cheli. As this record relates:

In the year Taiding 3, 9th month, on *wuchen* day [1326 CE] ... Ai Yong 哀 用, the nephew of the chieftain of the Greater Cheli, Zhao Ai 昭 哀 (Cao Ai), and the tribal official of Menglong dian 孟 隆 甸 (Moeng Luang), Wu Zhong 吾 仲, paid tribute [to the Yuan court]. The land under Zhao Ai (Cao Ai) was partitioned to establish Muduo Route 木 朵 路 and Mulai Sub-prefecture 木 來 州, as well as three villages (*dian*).

⁸ *Yuanshi*, ch. 132, p. 3207-08 (Memoir of Bu-lu-he-da). All the quotations from *Yuanshi* given here have been directly translated by the present author.

⁹ *Yuanshi*, ch. 16, p. 339.

The land under Wu Zhong was partitioned to establish Menglong Route 孟隆路 (Moeng Luang) and one village. One *dian* was established in the land of Ai Pei. They were issued the golden credentials and the copper seals and granted varying amounts of paper money, silk, saddles and reins/bridles.¹⁰

Moeng Lü, divided by the Mekong River into two nearly equal halves, was not always one unified kingdom. In the record dated the winter of 1296/97, the Mongol Yuan court already knew that there were two Chelis, the greater and the Lesser, one to the east of the Mekong River and one to the west of the Mekong River. As this record relates:

In the year Yuanzhen 2, 12th month, on *wu-xu* day (winter of 1296/97), the Military-*cum*-Civilian Route Command of Cheli 徹里 (Moeng Lü) was established.¹¹ The branch Secretariat of Yunnan said: “The [border] lands of the Greater Cheli and those of Babai-xifu are interlocking with one another, resembling dog’s teeth. Now that Hu Nian 胡念 (Khün Nian?), [the chieftain of] the Greater Cheli has surrendered but [the chieftain of] the Lesser Cheli again annexes [his neighbour’s] land, kills and loots repeatedly. Hu Nian has sent his younger brother, Hu Lun 胡倫 (Khün Luang?) to ask for permission to establish a separate pacification commission. A man who knows the situation of the southern barbarians shall be appointed to be the commander, so that he could induce/persuade the [tribal] peoples to return to allegiance. It shall serve as the base for further advancement.” A decree was issued ordering that the Military-*cum*-Civil officials in Meng

¹⁰ *Yuanshi*, ch. 30, p. 673.

¹¹ According to *Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhibu*, the Military-cum-Civilian Route Command of Cheli was established in Zhiyuan 11, *jia-xu* (1274 CE). Taxes in gold and silver were to be raised annually. *Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhibu* 景泰雲南圖經志書 [Provincial Gazetteer of Yunnan of Jingtai reign], compiled by Zheng Yong 鄭顥 & Chen Wen 陳文, photographic reprint of the 1455 edition, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, history section, v. 681 (Shanghai: 1995–2002). In *Zhengde Yunnan zhi*, it is stated that the Military-cum-Civilian Route Command of Cheli was established in the Zhiyuan reign (1265–94) and six *dian* (villages/polities) were subordinate to it.

Yanggang 蒙樣剛 (Moeng Yanggang) and other dian (tribal villages) were to be reinstated.¹²

This indicates that there was a struggle for the throne among the members of the ruling house and that Cheli was divided.

The first Tai Lü king appearing in the Ming sources is Dao Kan 刀坎 and he is identified as Cao Kan Moeng (r. 1347–1391/1312–1350). From then on, more and more Chinese sources pertaining to the Tai Lü rulers emerged:

In the year Hongwu 15, [2nd month+, on *gui-mao* day] (April 7, 1382), following the conquest of Yunnan,¹³ the tribal chieftain (*man-zhang* 蠻長), Dao Kan 刀坎 (Cao Khan Moeng, r. 1347–1391) came to offer his capitulation.¹⁴ On *ji-si* day (April 9), [the Sali Route Command of the Yuan] was reorganised into the Military-cum-Civilian Prefecture (*jun-min fu* 軍民府)¹⁵ of Cheli, and the aboriginal chieftain (*tu-qiu* 土酋) Dao Kan (Cao Khan Moeng) was appointed the [tribal] Prefect (*zhi-fu* 知府).¹⁶

¹² *Yuanshi* 19, p. 407. A rather similar record is to be found in *Yuanshi* 61, 1463–64.

¹³ Yunnan was conquered by 300,000 Ming troops commanded by General Lan Yu 藍玉 (d. 1391), Fu Youde 傅友德 (d. 1394), and Mu Ying 沐英 (1345–1392). See *Taizü Shilu* 141, 2228 (Hongwu 15, 1st month, *gengxu*: Feb. 13, 1382).

¹⁴ See *Taizü Shilu* 143, 2246–47 (Hongwu 15, 2nd month+, *guimao* day). Dao Kan, the eighth ruler of Moeng Lü, was clever and capable. For a description of how Dao Kan tried to avoid a direct confrontation with Ming troops, see *Leshi* (1947), pp. 5–6, translated by F. M. Liew into English.

¹⁵ A *junmin fu* is a Ming administrative unit, organised in tribal area.

¹⁶ *Mingshi Gao* 189, 29b; *Taizü Shilu* 143, 2247 (Hongwu 15, 2nd moon, *ji-si* day). All the quotations from *Mingshi Gao* and *Ming Shilu* given here have been directly translated by the present author (non-Chinese readers interested in the Ming Shilu are directed to Geoff Wade's "Southeast Asia in the *Ming Shilu*," an open access resource, first made available in 2005, available at <http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/>). One could interpret the Ming court's establishment of a prefecture (*fu*) in Cheli, instead of an aboriginal commission (*tusi*), as an attempt to incorporate Cheli (Moeng Lü) into the Chinese administrative system of Yunnan proper. The Chinese considered that a Tai *müang*

The successive monarch of Moeng Lü to the Tai Lü was their *Cao Phaendin* (ruler/lord of the land), but to China they were their *Xuan-wei shi* 宣慰使 (lit. pacification commissioner). The *Xuanwei shi* has been rendered into Tai Lü as *Saenwi Fa* (i.e., pacification lord), which is a combination of the Chinese *xuan-wei* 宣慰 (lit. pacify and soothe) and the Tai *fa/pha* (lord). They were the so-called aboriginal officials (*tu-guan* 土官) appointed by China to rule their own peoples according to their own customs. As for the *tu-si* 土司 (aboriginal office) system created by the Mongol Yuan court of China in order to exert indirect rule over the kingdoms of the Tai peoples in Southern China and in what is today mainland Southeast Asia, space does not allow a detailed discussion in the present article.¹⁷

Fratricide and Fratricidal Wars

Tai Lü royal marriage patterns encouraged periodic conflicts within ruling families. Tai Lü kings and princes practised polygamy and, as a rule, they took the princesses of neighbouring Tai or Shan polities, such as Chiang Tung and Moeng Laem, as their consorts. The Moeng Lü princesses were also married to the princes of the surrounding Tai or Shan polities. So the family ties of the ruling house extended to the peripheral lands of Moeng Lü. During times of fighting over the throne, troops from maternal grandparents or fathers-in-law were frequently sought. The Tai Lü kings were also allowed to marry their cousins or their deceased cousin's wives in order to strengthen their position or claim to the throne, such as in the case of Súa Luang Fa, one of the grandsons of Tao Kham Moeng. This made relationships within the ruling house very complicated. The members of the ruling house, invested as *cao moeng* (rulers of the lesser surrounding polities), were split into factions in times of disputes for succession to the throne. The ambitious uncles of the crown prince also posed a great threat to the

(polity) could be organised into a *fu* (prefecture) or a *zhou* (sub-prefecture), or a *xian* (county), depending on the seize of the *müang*. This political aim eventually materialised in the 1950s.

¹⁷ For the *tu-si* system, see Liew, F. M. (1998), pp. 63–68; Liew, F. M. (2003), pp. 144–186.

throne, in particular when the crown prince was still not yet of age at the time of his father's death.¹⁸

Three fratricides and three long fratricidal wars over the throne of the *Saenwi Fa* are recorded in the Tai Lü chronicles. For convenience, these will be referred together generically as “fratricidal conflicts” in the present article. As the chronicles of many reigns are very brief, there were probably other unrecorded civil wars, a fact that should be kept in mind even though details remain unavailable. As a rule, the line of succession of the ruling house of the Tai Lü was by right of primogeniture, except in the first reign when Cao Phaya Coeng (r. 1180–1192/1159–1180 CE) made his youngest son, Tao Sam Khai Noeng (r. 1192–1211/1180–1201), the crown prince. Other sons were invested as the lords of outer or foreign *moeng* (lands).

The First Fratricidal Conflict

The first attempted usurpation took place in the reign of Cao Phaya Coeng's grandson. Tao Sam Khai Noeng (r. 1192–1211/1180–1201) had two sons: the elder was Tao Pung and the younger was Ai Yi Pung. Tao Pung succeeded his father to the throne and Ai Yi Pung was invested as the ruler of three *panna* (M. Hun, M. Hai, and M. Cae), located to the west of the Mekong River. The following is recorded in Li Fuyi's *Leshi* (1947):

The second son Ai Yi Poeng (Piang) was invested the lord of three *panna* in Moeng Hun, Moeng Hai, and Moeng Cae (to the west of the Mekong). [...] Tao [Sam] Kham Noeng's eldest son Tao Pung (Kung) succeeded his father to the throne in CS 573 (1211). His younger brother Ai Yi Poeng (Piang) revolted and attempted to usurp the throne. Later, he was killed by his elder brother Tao Pung (Kung). After his death he became a *siaa moeng* (*phi moeng*). Hence, oblations have been offered at a certain time of the year and it had been observed to the present

¹⁸ As in the case of Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi) (r. 1802–1822) and his uncle, Tao Thai Kang (Cao Mahawang).

day.¹⁹

A very similar account is recorded in the Tai Lü Chronicle (1963) manuscript²⁰ and in Gao Lishi (1984):

The younger brother of Ai Kung (1201–1206), Yi Piang (Poeng), was invested as the lord of the three *panna*, Moeng Hun, Moeng Hai and Moeng Cae. Because he plotted to usurp his elder brother's throne, he was killed by his elder brother. After his death he became a "*phi moeng*" and every year oblations were offered, which is practised to the present day. During this reign a fratricidal war broke out because of fighting to be the ruler of the *Saenwi fa*.²¹

The Second Fratricidal Conflict

The second fratricidal conflict recorded took place not long afterwards during the reign of the fifth ruler, Tao Haeng Luang (r. 1257–1273/1228–1254). Tao Haeng Luang had two sons: the elder Tao Puwak (r. 1273–1287/1255–1269) and the younger Yi Peng (Piang) Lak Sai. Tao

¹⁹ All of the quotations from the Li Fuyi (1947) given here have been directly translated by the present author.

²⁰ This is a Tai Lü chronicle edited from several Tai Lü manuscripts in 1963 and distributed among the Tai officials in Chiang Rung. See Foon Ming Liew-Herres, "An introduction to the Tai Lü sources of the history of Moeng Lü (Sipsong Panna): Various Tai Lü Manuscript-copies on the 'Dynastic History of Moeng Lü' that have been translated into Chinese or transcribed into Thai and the salient studies of the History of Moeng Lü (Leshi), 1947-2001," *Aseanie* 14 (Decembre 2004). A Tai scholar, Ai Kham, gave this precious manuscript to the present author in 2005. The content of the 1963 manuscript is very similar to that of Gao Lishi's (1984) translation (also based on old manuscripts, but Mr. Gao was unable to provide his original manuscripts). V. Grabowsky, with the help of Renoo W. (from Chiang Mai) and the present author, translated the 1963-Tai Lü Chronicle into English in 2005. The Tai Lü/Tai names and special terms of the present author's earlier translations of Li Fuyi (1947) and Gao Lishi (1984) were improved from the translations of the 1963-Tai Lü Chronicle.

²¹ All the quotations from Gao Lishi given here have been directly translated by the present author.

Puwak was the heir apparent while Yi Peng (Piang) Lak Sai was adopted by Cao Moeng Fòng (Pòng), Fa Kham Kòng, who had no son. As Li Fuyi (1947) relates,

In the third year [1275 CE], when Tao Puwak was on the throne, Yi [Peng/Piang] Lak Sai suddenly led the people of Moeng Fòng and the troops of Moeng Mao Luang to attack his elder brother. The battle was fought at Moeng Cae. [As Yi Peng Lak Sai] could not gain a victory he withdrew (Li Fuyi, 1947).

A slightly different account is recorded in the 1963-Tai Lü and Gao Lishi (1984).

During his (Tao Puwak's) reign, Moeng Mao Luang sent troops to attack [Chiang Rung]. Defeated by Sipsòng Panna, [they] retreated to their country. At that time Cao Moeng Fòng, Fa Kham Kòng, had no son, so he adopted Tao Puwak's younger brother Yi Peng Lak Sai (Gao Lishi, 1984).

The Third Fratricidal Conflict

The next civil war took place soon after the death of the tenth ruler, Tao Sida Kham (r. 1391–1413/1350–1430). It lasted several decades until the death of his grandson, Tao Sam Pò Lütai (r. 1457–1497/1467–1490).²² In between, there was a temporary peace of over twenty years during the reign of Sūa Luang Fa (r. 1428–1457/1446–1466), but lands were ceded in exchange for military aid. During these years, China also saw the emergence of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The Tai Lü rulers and princes, such as Dao Kan 刀坎 (Tao Khan Moeng), Dao Dian 刀典 (Tao Kham Tet), Dao Xian-da 刀暹答 (Tao Sida Kham), Dao Geng-

²² According to the Li Fuyi (1947), it was eighty-four years from the death of Tao Sida Kham in 1413 to the death of Tao Sam Pò Lütai in 1497. According to Gao Lishi (1984) and the 1963-Tai Lü Chronicle, it was sixty years from the death of Tao Sida Kham in 1430 to the death of Tao Sam Pò Lütai in 1490.

meng 刀更孟 (Tao Kü Moeng), Dao Ba-xian 刀霸羨 (Tao Phasaeng), Dao Ba-gong 刀霸供 (Tao Bakòng), Dao Shuang-meng 刀雙孟 (Tao Sòng Moeng), Dao Long 刀弄 (Tao Luang), San Bao Lidai 三寶歷代 (Tao Sam Pò Lütai), Dao Si-long 刀思弄 (Tao Sūa Luang) and Ban-ya Zhong 板雅忠 (Phaya Còm), etc., are recorded in the "Veritable Records of the Ming" (*Ming Shilu*) and the "Draft of the Ming History" (*Mingshi Gao*).²³

According to Li Fuyi (1947), Tao Khan Moeng had three sons: Tao Sida Kham, Tao Kumman, and Peo Fei Fa. Tao Sida Kham was the crown prince.²⁴ Tao Sida Kham married the younger sister of Cao Moeng Khün (Òn Ai/Ai Òn), who was a Tai Khün princess. They had three sons: Tao Kü Moeng, Tao Kham Tet (Tiat), and Tao Saeng Moeng, and a daughter Nang Lun Koei.²⁵

Tao Sida Kham's younger brother, Poe Fai Fa, who married the daughter of Phaya Sòng Fa of Moeng Laem, a princess of Moeng Laem, had three sons: Daet Ham Ya Pò Tai, Thaloen, who died young, and Sūa Luang Fa. Sūa Luang Fa was adopted by his uncle, Tao Sida Kham, and he later married his cousin, Nang Lun Koei. So Sūa Luang Fa became the son-in-law of his uncle, Tao Sida Kham, who was also his foster father. Thus, after the death of Tao Sida Kham, murder and warfare ensued among brothers, uncles, nephews and cousins.²⁶

Tao Kham Tet ousts his elder brother Tao Kü Moeng

The Chronicles of Tai Lü depict Tao Kü Moeng (r. 1413–1315/1433–1436), the heir to the throne of his father, Tao Sida Kham, as a very cruel and unscrupulous ruler. His younger brother, Tao Kham Tet (r. 1415–1428/1442–1445), ousted him in 1415. Later, the people of Chiang

²³ *Ming Shilu* is a very important contemporary Ming source.

²⁴ He was born to the Lawa (Lua) girl, *bòi sam cik* (three-pronged-conch shell).

²⁵ But, according to Gao Lishi (1984) and the 1963-Tai Lü Chronicle, Tao Sida Kham had two sons: Tao Kü Moeng and Tao Kham Tet, as well as a daughter, Nang Lun Koei.

²⁶ Tao Kü Moeng and his brother, Tao Kham Tet; Tao Kham Tet and his two nephews, Tao Sòng Moeng and Tao Bakòng; Tao Kham Tet and his cousin, Sūa Luang Fa, etc.

Fòng at Moeng Khòn alledgedly murdered him. As Li Fuyi (1947) relates:

Tao Kü Moeng was a cruel and unscrupulous ruler. He favoured strange punishments and invented the methods of crushing [criminals] with a mangle; hanging criminals on a cowherd's pole by an iron hook into the spine; and slicing off a piece of flesh per day, a punishment of slow dismemberment of prolonged death. [...]. He neither followed the ancestral injunctions nor listened to the advice of [his cousin] Sūa Luang Fa. As Sūa Luang Fa was afraid that he would be the [next] victim, he sought refuge at Ban Cae in Moeng Hun.²⁷ In the third year of the reign of Tao Kü Moeng (CS 777: [1415 CE]), Tao Kham Tet (Tiat), afraid that he would be killed by [his brother Tao Kü Moeng] for no reason, revolted and banished him to Chiang Fòng. The people of Chiang Fòng, afraid that on his arrival the inhabitants would flee in all directions, had a secret discussion. They deceived him by saying that he would merely be settled at Moeng Nun.²⁸ They forced him on to the back of an elephant and transported him to Moeng Khòn,²⁹ where he was strangled to death. After the decease of Tao Kü Moeng, he became the deity of the *moeng* (*sūa moeng* or *phi moeng*) and so until the present day oblations must be offered to him yearly. It was in the year CS 777, *dap-met* [1415CE]. He was the tenth ruler [of

²⁷ Located to the south of present-day Menghai County (Moeng Hai), previously Fohai County.

²⁸ Also known as Xiao Menglun (Lesser Moeng Nun), now a part of Zhenyue County. According to Dao & Kang, in the year CS 785 (1433 CE), Tao Kham Tiat banished Tao Kü Moeng to Fade (in lower Ban Fa of Moeng Ham) and nominated Tao Sòng Moeng, the four-year-old second son of Tao Kü Moeng, to succeed his father. Dao Yongming 刀永明 & Kanglang Zhuang 康朗莊 “*Cheli xuanwei shi shixi ji liyi dashi ji*” 車里宣慰使世系及禮儀大事記 [Genealogy of the *Saenwi Fa* of Sipsòng Panna and records of important events on ceremonies], in *Cheli xuanwei shi shixi jijie* 車里宣慰使世系集解 [Collections of commentaries on the genealogies of *Saenwi Fa* of Sipsòng Panna] (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 1989): pp. 328.

²⁹ To the southeast of Ganlanba (i.e., Moeng Ham), south of Chiang Rung.

Moeng Lü].

A very similar account is given in the 1963-Tai Lü and Gao Lishi (1984). According to Gao Lishi:

When Tao Kü Moeng was in power, he neither ruled according to law nor followed the ancestral injunctions. [He] was cruel and unscrupulous and killed people recklessly/wantonly. [He] invented instruments for torturing, [such as] the hay cutter and saw to cut and saw [people] to death, or an iron hook to hook into the culprit's spinal cord and the bone so as to hang him up; or slicing a piece of flesh per day until he died. When a person committed a crime, his siblings and relatives would be [implicated in the crime and] killed. [Tao Kü Moeng] refused to listen to the advice of Sūa Luang Fa and others. Sūa Luang Fa, afraid that he would be killed by him, sought refuge in Moeng Cae and Moeng Hun. In the third year of Tao Kü Moeng's reign, as his younger brother Tao Kham Tet (Tiat) was afraid that he would be murdered by [his brother] he ousted him in the year CS 798, *lai-si* [1436 CE] and sent him to live at Ban Chiang Fòng of Chiang Rung [which is today's Ban Chiang Pòm]. Later, the people had a secret discussion. If he were to regain his power, they would be killed by him. They then cheated him by telling him that they were sending him to Moeng Nun. They brought Tao Kü Moeng by force on to the back of an elephant and transported him to Moeng Khòn, where he was strangled to death with a rope around his neck. He became a *phi moeng* after his death and every year oblations were offered, which was observed to the present day.

We learn of this in the contemporary Chinese sources:

In the year Yongle 11, 11th month, on *wu-xu* day (Dec. 15, 1413), the emperor sent palace eunuch, Hong Zai-sheng 洪仔生, to bring an imperial decree to Dao Xian-da (Tao Sida Kham). On arrival [the imperial envoy learned that] Dao Xian-

da (Tao Sida Kham) had passed away and his eldest son Dao Geng-meng 刀更孟 (Tao Kü Moeng, r. 1413–1415) proclaimed himself [ruler]. He, who was arrogant and cruel, could not gain the hearts of his people. He died not long after (murdered). Dao Geng-meng's eldest son, Dao Ba-xian 刀霸羨 (Tao Phasaeng) (sic)³⁰ succeeded [him to the post of *Saenwi Fa*]. As he was young, the people (the nobility) elected Dao Sai 刀賽 (Tao Sai) to be the deputy of the aboriginal commission. Dao Sai was namely Dao Pa-han 刀怕漢 (i.e., Tao Kham Tet), the younger brother of Dao Geng-meng (Tao Kü Moeng). After the death of Dao Pa-han, his (Tao Kü Moeng) wife deceitfully claimed that Dao Long 刀弄 (Tao Luang),³¹ her former husband's son, was the grandson of Dao Xian-da (Tao Sida Kham) and petitioned to allow [Dao Long] to succeed to [the post of *Saenwi Fa*]. It was approved.³²

According to the *Veritable Records*, in Yongle 11, 11th month (1413), the second son of the late Pacification Commissioner Dao Xian-da (Tao Sida Kham), Dao Sai (Tao Sai), sent his elder brother Dao Pa-long 刀怕弄 (Tao Pha Luang) and others to pay tribute to the Ming court, presenting elephants, horses, gold and silver utensils. According to the *Ming Shih*:

Earlier, the Ming court sent palace eunuch Hong Zai-sheng, bringing with him an imperial decree, brocades and other things, [to Cheli]. On arrival he found out that Dao Xian-da was already dead and his eldest son Dao Gen-meng 刀艮孟 (viz. 刀更孟), who was arrogant and cruel, had succeeded to

³⁰ According to Tai Lü chronicles, Tao Phasaeng was Sūa Luang Fa's eldest son. Tao Kü Moeng eldest son was Tao Bakòng.

³¹ According to Li Fuyi's (1947) *Leshi*, Dao Xian-da had four sons: 1. Dao Geng-meng (Tao Kü Moeng), 2. Dao Kang-liang (Tao Kham Tet/Tiat), 3. Xiang Nang (Saeng Nang), and 4. the adopted son, She Long Fa (Sūa Luang Fa), who was his nephew (Peo Fai Fa's 3rd son). In this case, who was Dao Long (Tao Luang)? Could he be Sūa Luang Fa, the grandson of Tao Sida Kham?

³² *Mingshi Gao* 189, 31a, translated by the present writer.

the post himself. He could not gain the hearts of his people. Not long afterwards he died from illness. The people supported Dao Sai to take over the post for the time being. Dao Pa-long thanked the Ming court for the kindness shown to his deceased father and begged for permission to succeed to the post, which was approved.³³

However, we do not know if Tao Kü Moeng was really a cruel king or whether he was killed by the general population or by the Tai Lü nobility. It could be that he was killed as a result of intrigue by his younger brother, Tao Kham Tet, and his cousin, Sūa Luang Fa. Both men were also anxious to remove Tao Kü Moeng's sons.

Tao Kü Moeng Ousts His Nephews Tao Sòng Moeng and Tao Bakòng

Tao Kü Moeng had three sons: Tao Bakòng, Tao Sòng Moeng and Tao Sam Pò Lütai. They were still young when their father was murdered, allegedly by the people at Moeng Khòn. Tao Sam Pò Lütai was still a baby and his two elder brothers were still in their teens. Tao Sòng Moeng (r. 1415–1416/ bet. 1436–1439) succeeded his father to the throne, but sat on it for only two and a half months before his uncle, Tao Kham Tet, ousted him.

After Tao Kü Moeng had been banished and killed, [his] second son Tao Sòng Moeng was enthroned.³⁴ Meanwhile [his] eldest son Tao Bakòng had already taken up his principality (*shiyi*) in Moeng Phong³⁵ for three years when he heard that Tao Sòng Moeng had been enthroned. Tao Bakòng and his mother had a private discussion and said: “According to the right [of primogeniture], the eldest son should succeed [his father]. Tao

³³ See *Tai'xong Shilu* 145, 1717 (Yongle 11, 11th month, *wu-xu* day: Dec. 15, 1413), translated by the present writer.

³⁴ According to Gao Lishi (1984) (13.1) and 1963-Tai Lü (13.1), Tao Sòng Moeng was thirteen years old when he succeeded his father.

³⁵ Tao Bakòng was the lord of Moeng Phong, which is located ca. thirty-six kilometres west of Meng La (Moeng La), on the east bank of the Mekong River.

Bakòng is the elder. For what reason, instead of Tao Bakòng, has Tao Sòng Moeng been enthroned as [ruler]?” [They] were upset. Tao Sòng Moeng assumed the throne of [his elder brother], but was on the throne for [only] two months and fifteen days before being ousted by [his uncle] Tao Kham Tet (Tiat). As the people found what Tao Kham Tet had done was unfair, they drove him away not long afterwards (Li Fuyi, 1947).

But, according to Gao Lishi (1984) and the 1963-Tai Lü, Tao Bakòng returned to Chiang Rung to reclaim the throne. He ruled less than three more years until his uncle, Tao Kham Tet, deposed him. According to Gao Lishi:

Tao Sòng Moeng succeeded his father to the throne at the age of thirteen years. He was still young. His elder brother Tao Bakòng was at his principality (*kin na*) in Moeng Phong. As the mother and son learned of the news that the younger brother [Tao] Sòng Moeng had succeeded to the throne, they discussed [and thought that] according to the right [of primogeniture] the elder son ought to succeed in his father's stead. They returned to Chiang Rung forthwith. Tao Sòng Moeng waited for his elder brother three months and fifteen days before Tao Bakòng returned to Chiang Rung. Tao Bakòng succeeded in his younger brother's stead at the age of fifteen years in the year CS 801, *kat-met* (1439 CE). [His throne] was usurped by his uncle Tao Kham Tet in the year CS 803, *hong-lao* (1441 CE).

Meanwhile, Sĩa Luang Fa, another powerful uncle of the three youths of Tao Kü Moeng, was waiting in Moeng Cae and Moeng Hun, the two polities located to the west of the Mekong River, closer to Moeng Laem, where his maternal grandfather was living. Tao Kham Tet (Tiat), who could not gain the support of the people, asked his cousin Sĩa Luang Fa to surrender to him and sought his support. Sĩa Luang Fa refused with the following words:

Nobody has communicated with me concerning matters of dethronement and enthronement until now. When my father, the King (i.e., Tao Sida Kham), was on the throne, all local matters were placed under my administration. To my astonishment, immediately after the death of my father, the King, those men have created a state of confusion in the land. It is as dark as if there were no sun in the sky (i.e., lawlessness). Moreover, they put pressure on me, but I cannot be partial to the left or to the right (Li Fuyi, 1947).

Another version of Tai Lü chronicles records a very similar account:

As for [the matter of] deposing Tao Bakòng I am not aware of it. Neither do I know about the appointment of Tao Kham Tet. When my elder uncle Cao Sida Kham was on the throne, the administration of all local matters was entrusted to me personally. Now [my] father, the king is dead. The land is thrown into such a state of chaos by you all, dark as if there were no sun in the sky. [You] intend to proclaim yourself king and succeed to the throne; yet you want my support and me to go to pay you homage. [You indulge] in vain hope (Gao Lishi, 1984).

Süa Luang Fa, being the adopted son and son-in-law of Tao Sida Kham,³⁶ saw himself as the rightful successor to the throne of *Cao Phaendin* (lord of the land). He refused to obey his cousin, Tao Kham Tet, who had deposed his elder brother, Tao Kü Moeng, and his two young nephews. War between the two cousins, Tao Kham Tet and Süa Luang Fa, was inevitable.

³⁶ Süa Luang Fa married Tao Sida Kham's daughter, Nang Lun Koei, who was the granddaughter of Cao Moeng Khün (Chiang Tung).

The War Between the Two Cousins, Tao Kham Tet and Sūa Luang Fa

Tao Kham Tet (r. 1415–1428/1442–1445) was invested as the lord of Na Mūn Paen. Sūa Luang Fa (r. 1428–1457/1446–1466) was the lord of Moeng Phong (to the east of the Mekong River). Sūa Luang Fa gained three more *panna* of land in Moeng Hun and Moeng Hai after marrying Tao Sida Kham's daughter, Nang Lun Koei. Thus, Sūa Luang Fa moved to Moeng Cae and Moeng Hun to the west of the Mekong River and closer to Moeng Laem. This was accomplished after the death of Tao Sida Kham, but before Tao Kham Tet had deposed his elder brother, Tao Kū Moeng. The Chronicles of Tai Lü describe Sūa Luang Fa as intelligent, resourceful and brave. According to Li Fuyi (1947):

Sūa Luang Fa, the third son of Peo Fai Fa, was intelligent, resourceful and brave. When he was young, Tao Sida Kham adopted him and brought him up as his own son. [He] was granted Moeng Phong as his principality³⁷ and appointed military commander, concurrently entrusted with the task of managing all the local affairs.

Sūa Luang Fa refused to submit to his cousin, Tao Kham Tet. Thus, the angry Tao Kham Tet rallied the lords of the various *moeng* (polities) in the Upper Mekong River area³⁸ to send troops to attack Sūa Luang Fa in Ban Cae at Moeng Hun, where Sūa Luang Fa's troops were garrisoned. Sūa Luang Fa pretended to ignore his cousin and declared that he was going to wait for his attack. Meanwhile he sought help from his maternal grandparents in Moeng Laem. The lord of Moeng Laem, Phaya Hom Fa,³⁹ sent his younger brother Kham Ham Fa⁴⁰ to rescue his grandson.

³⁷ Sūa Luang Fa was invested as the lord of Moeng Phong, located in the former Zhenyue County, now Mengla County, east of the Mekong River.

³⁸ According to Li Fuyi (1947), Tao Kham Tet mustered soldiers and men from the east of the Mekong River.

³⁹ According to the 1963-Tai Lü Chronicle (15.3) and Gao Lishi (1984), p. 109, he was called Phaya Phai Hom Fa.

⁴⁰ Kham Ham Fa later married Nang O (Ua) Ming Khai Foei and became the son-in-law of Sūa Luang Fa.

Kham Ham Fa led the troops of Moeng Laem and marched to reinforce his nephew, Sūa Luang Fa. According to Gao Lishi (1984), it was in the year CS 808 (1445 CE), but according to Li Fuyi (1947), it was in the year CS 790 (1428 CE):

In CS 790 [1428 CE], they fought at Moeng Hun.⁴¹ Defeated, Tao Kham Tet fled to the couch grass (lalang grass) in the field. Kham Ham Fa was wounded by seven arrows. Sūa Luang Fa captured one elephant and pursued [the enemy] to Chiang Lan.⁴² Consequently, all the places (i.e., *moeng* and *ban*) capitulated. Tao Kham Tet fled to a high land (hillock) in Chiang Ha.⁴³ This place was thus known as Còm Sūa by the people (Li Fuyi, 1947).

A more vivid account is given in Gao Lishi (1984):

Tao Kham Tet marched to attack [Sūa Luang Fa], and Sūa Luang Fa encountered the enemy. In the fierce fighting at Hae Na Kha, although Kham Ham Fa from Moeng Laem was wounded in seven places, the elephant ridden by Tao Kham Tet was captured by Sūa Luang Fa. Defeated Tao Kham Tet escaped back [to Chiang Lan] and Sūa Luang Fa taking the advantage of victory, pursued [his cousin] to Chiang Lan. The people of Chiang Lan were on the side of Sūa Luang Fa. Tao Kham Tet had no standing (no support), fled to a hillock of Chiang Ha. Again Sūa Lüang Fa pursued him to a hillock of Chiang Ha, where he killed a close and trusted headman of Tao Kham Tet. This place is therefore renamed Còm Sūa. Every year oblations were offered, which was observed to the present day.

Not long afterwards, Tao Kham Tet took the golden seal adorned with a

⁴¹ According to the 1963-Tai Lü (15.4) and Gao Lishi (1984), p. 109, the battlefield was at Hae Na Kha,

⁴² Located three *li* (ca. 1 ½ kilometres) to the east of Cheli (Chiang Rung).

⁴³ Located to the south of Chiang Rung.

tiger's head and the golden warrant and sought help from Chinese authorities in Moeng La (Simao) and Kunming. Enroute, he died by the bank of the Nam Thai Fan River. The victorious Sūa Luang Fa ascended the throne and became the lord of Moeng Lü, according to Li Fuyi (1947), in CS 790 (1428 CE), but according to Gao Lishi (1984) in CS 808 (1446 CE).

After Kham Ham Fa from Moeng Laem had helped Sūa Lüang Fa in the battle against his cousin, Tao Kham Tet, he intended to take his troops back to Moeng Laem. However, Sūa Luang Fa persuaded him to remain in Moeng Lü. As Sūa Luang Fa argued,

In this military campaign you have gained more merit. Moeng Laem is just a small land. The domain of Moeng Lü is several times larger than Moeng Laem (Li Fuyi, 1947).

Similarly, Gao Lishi (1984) records:

In this military campaign [you my] brother[-in-law] (sic) have shown outstanding achievements. It is you who have fought and seized the land for me to enjoy. Moeng Laem is a small land. Moeng Lü-*Saenwi Fa* in comparison with Moeng Laem is countless times larger.

Consequently, he conferred on Kham Ham Fa the grant of a large rice-field [*na mün luang*, literally “10,000 rice field”] and offered his daughter, Nang O (Ua) Ming Khai Foei (eldest daughter), to Kham Ham Fa as his consort. Kham Ham Fa then remained in Moeng Lü.

According to Li Fuyi (1947), the fratricidal war between the two cousins lasted fifteen years (1413 to 1428) before peace was restored during Sūa Luang Fa's reign. Sūa Luang Fa was on the throne for a total of thirty years before passing away at the age of eighty in the year CS 819 (1457 CE). According to Gao Lishi (1984), however, the war only lasted for three years (1442–1445).

After removing his cousin, Tao Kham Tet, Sūa Luang Fa still felt unsafe on the throne because the three sons of Tao Kü Moeng —Tao Bakòng, Tao Sòng Moeng and Sam Pò Lütai— had not yet been

eliminated. He was probably afraid of the youths' maternal granduncle from Moeng Khün.⁴⁴ By right of primogeniture, Tao Kü Moeng's eldest son, Tao Bakòng, should have been restored to the throne after the usurper, Tao Kham Tet, had been driven away. But Sĩa Luang Fa had no intention of restoring his nephew to the throne. Instead, Sĩa Luang Fa strengthened and legitimated his position by marrying Tao Kü Moeng's wife, Nang Aen Kòm (daughter of Tao Hin Pan). Not long afterwards, Sĩa Luang Fa elevated Nang Aen Kòm to the position of principal queen and banished Tao Bakòng and Tao Sòng Moeng by putting them on a raft and letting them drift down the Mekong River. Sĩa Luang Fa also wanted to kill his nephew, Sam Pò Lütai, but the latter's mother intervened by threatening to commit suicide. Thus, Sam Pò Lütai's life was spared and Sĩa Luang Fa adopted him. Sam Pò Lütai grew up to accumulate significant power after the death of his uncle-cum-stepfather, Sĩa Luang Fa. He fought for his father's throne against Sĩa Luang Fa's sons. This is documented in the Tai Lü chronicles:

Sĩa Luang Fa took Nang Aen Kòm, the mother of Tao Bakòng and Tao Sòng Moeng, to be his royal concubine (*fei*) and later promoted her to be the queen consort (*nang tewi* or *nang moeng*). The two brothers, Tao Bakòng and Tao Sòng Moeng, were afraid that the people might support Sĩa Luang Fa, who wanted to harm them. So they boarded a raft and fled down the Mekong River. At that time Tao Sam Pò Lütai was still young. Sĩa Luang Fa wanted to kill him, but his mother, Nang Aen Kòm, protested and said: "My two elder sons have been murdered. My present situation is indeed extremely sad. If [Your Lord] must kill all the brothers, then I am no longer willing to be your queen. I will use a sharp knife to poke my throat and kill myself. It would be better to die than to live." As a result, Tao Sam Pò Lütai's life was spared (Li Fuyi, 1947).

A more vivid account is given in Gao Lishi (1984):

⁴⁴ Tao Sida Kham, the grandfather of the three youths, married the younger sister of Cao Moeng Khün. Thus, the maternal granduncle of the three youths was from Moeng Khün (Chiang Tung in Burma).

[As] Sam Pò Lütai, the third brother of Tao Bakòng and Tao Sòng Moeng, was still young, he was still with his mother. Sūa Luang Fa also did not want to spare him. His mother said to Sūa Luang Fa: “My two elder sons have been sent away by you on a raft. It is like having killed [them]. I am already extremely sad. If you still want to kill the youngest brother, then I am no longer willing to be the queen mother. I will kill myself by stabbing a small dagger into my throat; death is more dignified than staying alive.” Sūa Luang Fa ordered [her] to bring Sam Pò Lütai to show him. Indeed [the baby nephew] had just learned to walk (i.e., just a toddler). Sūa [Luang Fa] pondered: “[This baby] will not be able to plot to usurp my throne.” And thus [the small life] had a narrow escape from death.

Although the Ming officials might have muddled up their names and relationships, the Ming court was aware of the unrest in Moeng Lü. According to the *Ming Shilu*:

In the year Yongle 15, 2nd month, on *wu-wu* day (Feb. 17, 1417), Dao Long 刀弄 (Tao Luang), who was the grandson (sic) of the aboriginal official (i.e., *Saenwi Fa*) Dao Xian-da 刀暹答 (Tao Sida Kham), and others came to pay tribute and presented horses. The Ministry of Rites received an order to give them a feast and confer on them presents. On *ji-wei* day (Feb. 18), following the petition of the natives, a decree was issued ordering Dao Long (Tao Luang), the grandson (sic) of the late Pacification Commissioner (i.e., *Saenwi Fa*) of Cheli Dao Xian-da (Tao Sida Kham), to succeed to the post and be the Pacification Commissioner. Dao Shuang-meng 刀雙孟 (Tao Sòng Moeng) who was the second son (*zhongzi*) of Dao Geng-meng 刀更孟 (Tao Kü Moeng), was to be the Vice-Pacification Commissioner (i.e., Upalaca).⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *Taizong Shilu* 185, 1981 (Yongle 15, 2nd month, *wu-wu* and *ji-wei* days).

According to the 'Tai Lü chronicles, 'Tao Sida Kham did not have a grandson called Tao Luang. If Tao Luang were Sūa Luang Fa, then Tao Luang was 'Tao Sida Kham's nephew. If Tao Luang were 'Tao Kham Tet, then he was 'Tao Sida Kham's second son. Thus, the uncle ('Tao Kham Tet or Sūa Luang Fa) and nephew ('Tao Sòng Moeng) were both recognised by the Ming court as aboriginal officials (*tuguan*). According to the *Ming Shilu*:

In the year Yongle 19, 1st month, on *jia-shen* day (Feb. 22, 1421), the Pacification Commission and Commissioner of Jing-an (靖安宣慰使司) (in Moeng Phong)⁴⁶ of Cheli in Yunnan was established. Previously, two aboriginal officials (*tuguan*) for the Military-cum-Civilian Pacification Commission of Cheli were appointed, [viz.] Dao Long 刀弄 ('Tao Luang) was the Pacification Commissioner and his uncle (sic) Dao Shuang-meng 刀雙孟 ('Tao Sòng Moeng) was the Vice-Pacification Commissioner. Until then, Dao Shuang-meng said: "Dao Long has repeatedly resorted to using troops to invade and loot. The tribal peoples (*man min*) are disturbed and could not live in peace. [I] entreat that a separate office be established in another location [for me] to pacify [and rule my] people." It was approved. The land [of Cheli] was partitioned for establishing the Pacification Commission of Jing-an (Moeng Phong). Dao Shuang-meng was promoted to be the Pacification Commissioner. The Ministry of Rites (*libu*) received an order to cast an official seal for him.⁴⁷

Eight years later, we learn from the following from the *Ming Shilu*:

In the year Xuande 3, 12th month, on *yi-wei* day (Jan. 22, 1429), the Provincial Administrator of Yunnan (*buzheng shì*) Cha Hong-yi 差洪益 submitted a memorial: "On account that the

⁴⁶ In southern Zhenyue County, to the east of the Mekong River, near Laos.

⁴⁷ *Taizu Shilu* 233, 2254 (Yongle 19, 1st *jia-shen* day).

Pacification Commissioner of Cheli Dao Long 刀弄 (Tao Luang) fought against his fellow clansman (zushu 族叔),⁴⁸ the Pacification Commissioner of Jing-an⁴⁹ Dao Shuang-meng 刀雙孟 (Tao Sòng Moeng), out of blood feud, he abandoned his land and defected to Laos. I entreat that an official should be sent to accompany me to pacify (zhaofu) him [to persuade him to return to his allegiance].” The emperor told the Ministers (shangshu) Hu Ying 胡滢, Zhang Ben 張本, and others: “It is a common affair that the barbarian peoples (manyi) kill one another out of blood feuds. How could we always listen to what the petty people say? You should tell the Duke of Qianguo (Mu Sheng 沐晟) to deliberate for a solution with the Three Provincial Offices (sanshi) and deal with the problem.”⁵⁰

The partition of Moeng Lü resulted from the harrassment of Tao Sòng Moeng, the second son of Tao Kü Moeng, by his uncle. This is documented in Chinese reign chronicles of the time.

Süa Luang Fa Plotted to Kill his Cousin, Cao Ai

Cao Ai was Süa Luang Fa’s uncle Tao Kumman’s son. Süa Luang Fa had incorporated Moeng Kla (Ka), Moeng Bò, and Moeng Pan (in present-day Jinggu),⁵¹ into the domain of Sipsòng Panna. This was in the year CS 819 (1457 CE). Süa Luang Fa appointed Cao Ai of Moeng Hing (Puwen) as governor of Moeng Bò, Moeng Kla, and Moeng Pan. He also appointed Cao Ai’s younger brother, Tao Yi, as Governor of Moeng Hing (Puwen). Later, as Cao Ai could not adapt himself to his new *moeng*, he returned to Chiang Rung. The Council of Nobles (*nüa sanam*) sent him to take up his principality at Na Saen of Chiang Lan. He attempted to go against Süa Luang Fa. Thus, Süa Lüang Fa plotted to kill him. He

⁴⁸ A fellow clansman of one’s father’s generation, but younger than one’s father.

⁴⁹ Jing-an was located in Meng Peng (Moeng Phong), ca. thirty-six kilometres west of Moeng La, in Zhenyue County. It could be in Moeng Sing in Laos.

⁵⁰ *Xuanzong Shilu* 49, 1187 (Xuande 3, 12th month, *yi-wei* day).

⁵¹ Jinggu is located to the northwest of Simao, to the east of the Mekong.

asked Man Còm Hai to invite Cao Ai (then Cao Saen of Chiang Lan) to go with him to catch and eat fish. After Cao Ai had come, Man Còm Hai went to cast the net. Pretending that he had seen a big fish, he told Cao Ai to go into the water to catch it because he had better luck. As soon as Cao Ai dove into the water, the party cast their nets. Cao Ai, entangled in the nets, drowned in the deep pond.⁵² This was how Sūa Luang Fa removed his cousin who did not want to be the lord of an outer *moeng* (polity) to the far north of Chiang Rung.

The Fourth Fratricidal Conflict

The fourth fratricidal conflict was fought between between Tao Sam Pò Lütai and the sons of Sūa Luang Fa. According to Li Fuyi (1947), Sūa Luang Fa was on the throne thirty years and died at the age of eighty in CS 819 (1457 CE). According to Gao Lishi (1984), however, Sūa Luang Fa was on the throne for twenty years and died at the age of eighty in CS 828 (1466 CE). His eldest son, Tao Phasaeng (Dao Ba-xian), was enthroned in the same year. He was ousted just two months later, allegedly because the people refused to submit to him.⁵³ Tao Phasaeng then fled to China. Enroute, he suddenly committed suicide by cutting his throat at Moeng Hing (Puwen). According to contemporary Chinese sources, however, Tao Phasaeng was murdered by his cousin, Tao Sam Pò Lütai. The *Ming Shilu* relates, for example,

In the year Tianshun 1, 2nd month, on *geng-shen* day (21 March 1457), the Regional Commander (*zong bingguan*) of Yunnan-cum-the Vice-Commissioner-in-chief (*dudu tongzhi*), Mu Lin 沐璘, submitted a joint memorial: “The Pacification Commissioner (*xuanwei shi*) of the Military-cum-Civilian Pacification Commission of Cheli (Moeng Lü), Dao Ba-xian 刀霸羨 (Tao Phasaeng), had committed suicide. ... [.]” The emperor replied: San Bao Lidai (Sam Pò Lütai), a son of a

⁵² Gao Lishi (1984), p. 112.

⁵³ But according to Gao Lishi (1984), Tao Phasaeng was enthroned in CS 828 (1466 CE) and he ruled five months before the people ousted him.

concubine (*shunie*), has usurped [the post] of the son of a legal consort (*di*) and murdered (*mouhai*) Dao Ba-xian (Tao Phasaeng) [...]"⁵⁴

According to Tai Lü sources, after Tao Phasaeng had committed suicide by cutting his throat, the people looked for an appropriate ruler but could not find one. Therefore, a proclamation was sent to various *moeng* (polities) informing the *cao mòm* (lord of a *moeng*) that the people ought to have the freedom to elect their own ruler. The deposal of Tao Phasaeng was to establish a precedent. Whoever was not needed would be ousted; whoever was needed would be supported and installed as ruler. The result of this election was that Tao Sam Pò Lütai was elected as the new *Cao Phaendin* (lord of Moeng Lü). Tao Còm Pha and the rest of the brothers of Tao Phasaeng were not nominated. The youngest son of Tao Kü Moeng, Tao Sam Pò Lütai (r. 1457–1497/1467–1490), thus regained the *Saenwi Fa* throne of his father. The reason Sam Pò Lütai was preferred by the nobility could have been favor of the right of primogeniture. As Sam Pò Lütai was the son of Tao Kü Moeng, this would have made him the rightful lord of Moeng Lü after his two elder brothers⁵⁵ were deposed by his uncle, Tao Kham Tet (Tiat).

Tao Còm Pha's and Tao Ut's Collusion with Phaya Tiloka Against their Cousin, Tao Sam Pò Lütai

During Tao Sam Pò Lütai's reign, there was no peace in Moeng Lü. He had to fight hard to overcome the power of his cousins, namely the surviving sons of Sūa Luang Fa, who rallied foreign troops to help them oust Tao Sam Pò Lütai, who probably had ordered the killing of the heir Tao Phasaeng, their eldest brother.

Thus, in the year CS 820 (1458 CE), the two brothers, the lord of Moeng Luang, Tao Còm Pha, and the lord of Moeng Hun, Tao Ut, hatched a plot.⁵⁶ They went to Lan Na to invite Phaya Tilaka⁵⁷ to join

⁵⁴ Yingzong Shilu 275, 5860 (Tianshun 1, 2nd, month, *geng-shen* day).

⁵⁵ The story says that Tao Bakòng was the founder of Chiang Khaeng/Moeng Sing.

⁵⁶ They were the second and sixth sons of Sūa Luang Fa.

forces with them to attack Tao Sam Pò Lütai. Sam Pò Lütai abandoned Chiang Lan and moved to Chiang Rung. Phaya Tilaka commanded 200,000 soldiers and took the Lord of Moeng Luang Tao Còm Pha as his guide. They advanced to Moeng Cae. On the pretext that Saen Lò (i.e., Mùn Luang Saen Lò)⁵⁸ of Moeng Cae had taken Tao Sam Pò Lütai as his son-in-law, Phaya Tilaka of Lan Na marched directly to attack Moeng Cae.

[Five years] after Sam Pò Lütai had ascended the throne, in the year CS 834 [1472 CE], Cao Moeng Long⁵⁹ and Cao Moeng Hun⁶⁰ Ban Wan⁶¹ colluded with Phaya Tiloka from Lan Na-Chiang Mai to attack Sam Pò Lütai. Sam Pò Lütai, forced to abandon Chiang Lan, went to build “Wiang Chiang Mu” [city of Chiang Mu]. Phaya Tiloka of Lan Na commanded a large force of 200,000 soldiers. Taking Cao Moeng Luang, Tao Còm Pha [the second son of Sūa Luang Fa], as his guide, they marched to attack Moeng Cae. As Cao Moeng Luang and Cao Moeng Cae, called Saen Lò, had a personal feud, Cao Moeng Luang pointed out that Cao Moeng Cae and Sam Pò Lütai were of one mind. Saen Lò was the husband of Tao Còm Pha’s younger sister and Tao [Còm Pha] was his elder uncle. Both Saen Lò’s wife and Cao Moeng Luang, Tao Còm Pha, were Sūa Luang Fa’s children.⁶² Cao Moeng Luang said: “You are the

⁵⁷ He was King Tilok, i.e., Phaya Tilokalaca (r. 1441–1487), a son of Sam Fang Kaen (1402–1441) and grandson of Saen Moeng Ma (r. 1385–1401).

⁵⁸ Saen Lò was namely Kham Ham Fa, the younger brother of Phaya Lum Fa, who was the chieftain of Moeng Laem.

⁵⁹ The second son of Sūa Luang Fa, Tao Còm Pha, was the lord of Moeng Luang. Thus, he was Cao Moeng Luang.

⁶⁰ The sixth son of Sūa Luang Fa, Tao Ut, was the lord of Moeng Hun.

⁶¹ *Ban Wan* is probably a Tai Lü word not translated by Gao Lishi (1984). In the 1963-Tai Lü (18.2), it is, “Cao Moeng Luang and Cao Moeng Hun rebelled and colluded with Phaya Tiloka from Lan Na-Chiang Mai (Kalòm) to attack Sam Pò Lütai.”

⁶² According to Gao Lishi (1984), Sūa Luang Fa’s eldest daughter, Nang Ua Ming Khai Foei, was married to Saen Moeng Cae, Kham Ham Fa. But according to Li Fuyi (1947), the eldest daughter of Sūa Luang Fa was married to Mùn Luang Saen Lò, Kham Ham Fa. The fratricidal wars continued among the next generation.

husband of my younger sister (i.e., brother-in-law), yet you are against me” (Gao Lishi, 1984).

Moeng Cae was unprepared for such an attack, as the city was not fortified. So they used bamboo-poles to quickly make a defensive wall around the town, and hung white cloth and other materials over the bamboo poles to give the appearance of fortifications. Saen Lò employed a ruse to ward off the imminent attack. He told Phaya Tilaka that the Saen Lò senior had gone to Chiang Rung. If Cao Lan Na could defeat Chiang Rung, Moeng Cae would surrender. Phaya Tilaka then transferred his troops to attack Chiang Rung. During this time Saen Lò quickly built proper fortifications at Moeng Cae. Within twenty days, they had completed the fortifications including a moat around the city.

Phaya Tilaka marched to attack Chiang Rung; but after one month and twenty days of siege, he still could not capture it. Thus, he pulled his troops back to attack Moeng Cae. He then besieged and attacked Moeng Cae. Nevertheless, after another one month and twenty days, he could not capture it, either. So he withdrew his troops quietly. Phaya Tilaka stopped at Moeng Yòng for a long time before he dared to travel back to Chiang Mai in Lan Na.

The Phaya of Moeng Khün (Lord of Chiang Tung), Sili Sutthamma Laca, led his troops to reinforce his grandnephew. Thus, after the war, Tao Sam Pò Lütai rewarded him by ceding Moeng Ma and Moeng La Tip to the Phaya of Moeng Khün.

Tao Sam Pò Lütai then appointed Mùn Nòn Luang, who was the *lam kha kao*,⁶³ to recruit his people (the *kha kao*) to attack Lan Na and enlisted four thousand men. In the attack, Lan Na lost a great number of elephants and horses and many people were killed or wounded. Phaya Tilaka returned to Lan Na. The lord of Moeng Luang, Tao Còm Pha, and the lord of Moeng Hun, Tao Ut, defected.

In the year CS 824 (1462 CE), the lord of Moeng Ngat and Moeng Khang, Tao Cet (i.e., Tao Som, the seventh son of Sūa Luang Fa), sought help from Phaya Tilaka of Lan Na. Phaya Tilaka entrusted the lords of Chiang Saen and of Chiang Rai to recruit forty thousand soldiers

⁶³ According to Li Fuyi (1947), p. 14, “*lanjia*” (*lam kha kao*) was the speaker or the representative stationed at the capital, i.e., Chiang Rung.

to escort Tao Cet from Moeng Lü to Lan Na. At that time, Moeng Yòng was desolate. Thus, Tao Cet and his men were resettled in Moeng Yòng. After this, Moeng Yòng was subordinate to Lan Na. Moeng Ngat and Moeng Khang were depopulated because the people followed Tao Cet to Moeng Yòng.

In the year CS 830 (1468 CE), Tao Sam Pò Lütai attacked Moeng Hun because the lord of Moeng Hun, Tao Ut (the sixth son of Sūa Luang Fa), had colluded with Nan Lan and created trouble. Tao Ut fled to his elder brother in Muang Luang (the second son of Sūa Luang Fa, Tao Còm Pha). Tao Sam Pò Lütai sent his men to persuade the scattered refugees to return to their homes, but the people of Moeng Hun erected huts in the fields and refused to return to their original homes. Tao Sam Pò Lütai could do nothing. The people of Moeng Hun invited Tao Ut back to Moeng Hun to rule over them.

In the year CS 831 (1469 CE), Tao Ut revolted again. Phaya Kham Daeng (viz. Saen Kham Daeng) launched another attack on Moeng Hun, killed Tao Ut, and presented his head to Tao Sam Pò Lütai. Tao Sam Pò Lütai had the people of Moeng Hun deported because they should not have invited Tao Ut back. One group was deported to Chiang Rung and another group to Moeng Cae. Thus, Moeng Hun was left desolate.

The fight for the throne and the unrest in Moeng Lü are clearly recorded in contemporary Chinese sources. As the *Ming Shilu* relates:

In the year Tianshun 1, 2nd month, on *geng-shen* day (March 21, 1457), the Regional Commander (*zong bingguan*) of Yunnan-cum-the Vice-Commissioner-in-chief (*dudu tongzhi*), Mu Lin 沐璘, submitted a joint memorial: “The Pacification Commissioner (*xuanwei shi*) of the Military-cum-Civilian Pacification Commission of Cheli (Moeng Lü), Dao Ba-xian 刀霸羨 (Tao Phasaeng), had committed suicide. The younger brothers Ban-ya Zhong 板雅忠 (Phaya Còm), et al., have already elected their elder brother San Bao Lidai 三寶歷代 (Tao Sam Pò Lütai) to rule the land on behalf of them. Now Ban-ya Zhong (Phaya Còm) is again creating unrest and banding together with Babai (Lan Na). He is borrowing men and horses [from Babai] and killing out of vengeance (blood feuds). We intend to transfer government troops to pacify and

quell [the revolt] but the warm spring is approaching and the epidemic attributed to miasma is flourishing. We should not yet mobilise the troops and march on recklessly. The emperor replied: “San Bao Lidai (Sam Pò Lütai), a son of a concubine (*shunie*), has usurped [the post] of the son of a legal consort [*dī*] and murdered [*mouhai*] Dao Ba-xian [Tao Phasaeng], prompting Ban-ya Zhong (Phaya Còm) to borrow troops [from Babai] to attack and kill [him]. [Mu] Lin and others should send suitable officials to pacify and instruct Ban-ya Zhong [Phaya Còm], et al., and make an investigation to find out who is the legal heir of the post of the Pacification Commissioner [*Saenwi Fa*]. The causes of the succession conflict are to be reported and they should be ordered to withdraw their forces and settle their conflicts.”⁶⁴

More than a year later, the results of the investigation were reported to the Ming court. The Ming court found that Sam Pò Lütai was the son of Tao Kü Moeng and not the son of a concubine.

In the year Tianshun 2, 6th month, on *ren-shen* day (July 26, 1458), an order was issued to appoint the son of Dao Geng-meng 刀更孟 (Tao Kü Moeng), the late Pacification Commissioner of the Pacification Commission of Cheli, San Bao Lidai 三寶歷代 (Tao Sam Pò Lütai), to succeed his father to the post. At the beginning, after the death of Dao Geng-meng, San Bao Lidai's mother, née Jin 金氏 (Kham clan),⁶⁵ married the headman (*toumu*) Dao Si-long 刀思弄 (Cao Sūa Luang, i.e., Sūa Luang Fa), who took charge of the land of Cheli; and San Bo Lidai followed his mother [to his stepfather].⁶⁶ After the death of Dao Si-long, his son Dao Ba-

⁶⁴ *Yingzong Shilu* 275, 5860 (Tianshun 1, 2nd, *geng-shen* day). See above, page 16.

⁶⁵ According to Li Fuyi (1947), the mother of Sam Pò Lütai was Nang Aen Kòm, the daughter of Tao Hin Pan, who, after the death of her first husband, Tao Kü Moeng, married Sūa Luang Fa (r. 1428–1457).

⁶⁶ In this case, She Long-fa 奢隴法 (Sūa Luang Fa) was most probably Dao Si-long (or Si Long-fa).

xian 刀霸羨 (Tao Phasaeng) hence succeeded to the post. After the death of Dao Ba-xian, the various *yi* (i.e., headmen of Moeng Lü) intended to recommend San Bao Lidai to succeed to the post. However, the younger brother of Dao Ba-xian, Ban-ya Zhong 板雅忠 (Phaya Còm), et al. objected to it. Consequently, he resorted to war and created unrest. The [Ming] court ordered the officials of the Three Provincial Offices (*sansi guan*) [in Yunnan] to go to pacify them. An investigation was made and the situation was clear; thus the order was given.⁶⁷

The Fifth Fratricidal Conflict

The fifth fratricidal war took place within Tao Sam Pò Lütai's family and after Tao Sam Pò Lütai had ousted his cousins. As recorded in the Chronicles of Moeng Lü, Tao Sam Pò Lütai had six sons and four daughters: The eldest son, Tao Yi, was the crown prince (Cao Moeng Luk); the second son was Cao Moeng;⁶⁸ the third son, Sam Khai Noeng, was appointed military commander and granted Moeng U as his principality.⁶⁹ The fourth son, Cao Am, was granted Moeng Nun as his principality; the fifth son, Cao Ai, and the sixth son, Cao Khan Moeng, were still young and they were not yet appointed as lords of any principality.

In the year CS 832 (1470 CE), the younger brother of Phaya Khün, Cao Moeng Khak, married Tao Sam Pò Lütai's daughter, Nang Khò Moeng.⁷⁰ Tao Sam Pò Lütai asked Cao Moeng Khak to remain in Moeng

⁶⁷ *Yingzong Shilu* 292, 6242 (Tianshun 2, 6th, *ren-shen* day).

⁶⁸ According to the 1963-Tai Lü, 18.11, he was called Cao Moeng Khak, i.e., Cao Am.

⁶⁹ It is namely Moeng U-Nüa, which was formally ceded to French Indochina in 1896. Together with Moeng U-Tae, they form the bulk of Laos' Phong Sali province where ethnic Lü still make up the majority among the Tai-speaking ethnic groups.

⁷⁰ According to Li Fuyi (1947), Nang Khò Moeng was the third daughter of Tao Sam Pò Lütai; but according to the 1963-Tai Lü (18.14) and Gao Lishi (1984), p. 113, Cao Moeng Khak married the fifth daughter of Tao Sam Pò Lütai, Nang Khò Moeng.

Lü to serve him. The son-in-law of Tao Sam Pò Lütai was not a humble man, so conflicts between the crown prince, Cao Yi, and his brother-in-law escalated.

As the queen, the natural mother of Cao Ai and Cao Khan Moeng, wanted to set up her own son as crown prince and remove Cao Mòm Luk [i.e., the crown prince, Cao Yi], she slandered [the prince royal] to Tao Sam Pò Lütai: “The crown prince intends to commit regicide and establish himself as the ruler.” Tao Sam Pò Lütai believed her and ordered Mùn Luang⁷¹ to attack Cao Mòm Luk (Li Fuyi, 1947).

[Tao Yi’s] brother-in-law Cao Moeng Khak quickly ran to hide under the building of his father-in-law. At that time, the queen, namely the natural mother of Cao Ai [the fourth son] and the step-mother of Tao Yi, wanted to depose Tao Yi [so as] to nominate her son-in-law [as crown prince] and her daughter as queen. [She] said calumnious things about [Tao Yi] to Sam Pò Lütai and said that the crown prince Tao Yi was plotting regicide to usurp the throne. Sam Pò Lütai, without carefully considering [the slander] and after having heard only one-sided words, sent his eldest son-in-law called Mùn Luang [Tao Saeo’s son] to fight [Tao Yi] (Gao Lishi, 1984).

Tao Sam Pò Lütai believed the queen’s slander and ordered his son-in-law Mùn Luang⁷² to attack Cao Mòm Luk (the crown prince, Cao Yi). However, Mùn Luang defied the order because Cao Mòm Luk was innocent. Thus, the queen (*nang tewi*) bribed his brother, Phaya Kham Daeng, and confided to him her plot for removing the crown prince. Phaya Kkam Daeng had harboured a grudge against Cao Mòm Luk (i.e., Tao Yi) and hated him. After receiving the bribe from his sister, the queen, Phaya Kham Daeng attacked Cao Moeng Luk on the hill behind

⁷¹ This was the father of Tao Saeo, thus the father-in-law of the second daughter of Tao Sam Pò Lütai.

⁷² Mùn Luang, the son of Tao Saeo (Süa Luang Fa’s third son), was husband of Cao Nang. Thus, Mùn Luang was the son-in-law of Tao Sam Pò Lütai.

the palace in Chiang Rung,⁷³ but could not win. Thus, Tao Sam Pò Lütai went to help his brother-in-law, Phaya Kham Daeng, to attack his own son. But Tao Yi avoided fighting his father. He fled to Moeng Phong. How the crown prince, Tao Yi, died remains unclear. The two Tai Lü versions differ slightly.

In the year CS 833, (1471 CE), Cao Moeng Luk (i.e., Tao Yi) was living in Moeng Phong. One day after drinking [rice wine] at Ban Khai [Man Gai], he rode on an elephant up the hill Dòi Nòi [i.e., Dòi Mòn Haeng Hap] where he committed suicide with his spear (Li Fuyi, 1947).

Tao Yi stayed in Moeng Phong. One day being drunk, he rushed recklessly on an elephant and knocked down a house of the people. He was killed with a spear (Gao Lishi, 1984).

Tao Yi was most probably murdered in Moeng Phong by an agent of the queen.

The people were dissatisfied with Tao Sam Pò Lütai. They claimed that the local unrest was caused by his son-in-law, Cao Moeng Khak, so the people rose against him. Tao Sam Pò Lütai hid his son-in-law in *ho pha pong* (*he-pa-beng*).⁷⁴ The people concentrated on attacking him day and night with guns, crossbows, and firearms. As Cao Moeng Khak could no longer hide, he fled upstream on the Mekong River, via Moeng Wang, Moeng Khang, and Moeng Cae,⁷⁵ and returned to Moeng Khün (Chiang Tung). The people of Moeng Khang escorted Nang Khò Moeng to Moeng Khün and gave her to Cao Moeng Khak. Cao Moeng Khak and his wife blamed his elder brother, Phaya Khün, for not sending troops to help them. He killed his brother Phaya Khün and fled to a temple, where he died as well.

Tao Sam Pò Lütai was succeeded by his third son, Sam Khai Noeng (r.

⁷³ According to the 1963-Tai Lü, 18.17, they fought at Kòng Hua Kum near Chiang Rung.

⁷⁴ *He-pa-beng* probably means “inner quarters of a palace.”

⁷⁵ These three *moeng* were located in the former Ningjiang Department and Nanqiao County, now Menghai County.

1497–1502/1491–1495), who was military commander and lord of Moeng U-Nüa (in present day Laos).

Moeng Lü Becomes a Vassal to Two Overlords: China and Ava Burma

The cumulative chronicles of the ancient rulers of Moeng Lü end with coverage of Tao Sam Pò Lütai. The records of the three rulers after Tao Sam Pò Lütai, from 1497 to 1530, are very brief, but this does not mean that the succession was smooth.⁷⁶ The second part of the chronicles of Moeng Lü begins with the reign of Cao Ong Moeng (Li: Cao Nò Moeng) and the subjugation of Chiang Rung by the Burmese king of Dagon. As one chronicle relates:

In the year CS 930, a poek si year (1568 CE), the King of Dagon (Yangôn)⁷⁷ [in] Burma appointed General Maha Tham to command an army to conquer Chiang Yung (Chiang Rung).⁷⁸ Only then did Cao Nò (Un/Ong) Moeng submit to His Majesty, the King of [Ava-] Burma. He commanded his aboriginal troops and followed the King of [Ava-] Burma, Fa Suttho Thammalaca —Mang Yinglong (Bayinnaung) — to conquer Ayutthaya and Chiang Mai.⁷⁹ During the victorious march back at Moeng Phayak⁸⁰ the *Saenwi Fa* Cao Nò (Un/Ong) Moeng fell ill and died (Li Fuyi, 1947).

⁷⁶ They were Sam Khai Noeng, Cao Khan Moeng, and Cao Sili Somphan.

⁷⁷ Pegu, not Dagon, was the royal seat of the Toungoo Dynasty (1486–1752 or 1531–1752). However, when king Alaungpaya (r. 1752–1760), who founded the Konbaung dynasty (1752–1885), conquered Lower Burma in the mid-1750s, he developed Dagon as a port and renamed it Yangôn (Rangoon), which means “The End of Strife.”

⁷⁸ After Moeng Lü capitulated to Burma, Chiang Rung (city of dawn) was renamed Chiang Yung (city of peacock).

⁷⁹ According to CMC (1995), pp. 122–23, Chiang Mai was invaded by King Poeng Phawa Min Taya of Pegu during the period from 1557 to 1558.

⁸⁰ Moeng Phayak is located to the southeast of Chiang Tung (or Kengtung) in Burma.

The expansion of Burmese power to the east is rather well documented in contemporary Chinese sources such as the *Mingshi Gao*, which relates:

In the year Jiajing 11 (1532), the Burmese bandit, Mang Ying-li 莽應裏 (sic) (Nandabayin, r. 1581–1599),⁸¹ occupied Baigu 擺古 [Pegu] and annexed [the lands of] the various barbarians one after another, like silk worms nibbling mulberry leaves. [The chieftains of] most of the aboriginal commissions [*tusi*] [Tai polities], being threatened by Mang Ying-li, served as his guides. At that time, the Pacification Commissioner of Cheli, Dao Nuo-meng 刀糯猛 [Cao Nò Moeng, r. 1530–1568], also submitted to Burma. Hence, there were two Cheli, the Greater Cheli and Lesser Cheli. The Greater Cheli owed its allegiance to Burma, while the Lesser Cheli to the Han [China].⁸²

In Tianqi 7, 4th month, [on *geng-xu* day] (May 28, 1627), the Grand Coordinator (*xunfu*), Min Hong-xue 閔洪學, submitted a memorial [to the throne]. As the memorial is related in the *Mingshi Gao*,

The Burmese chieftain by the name of Zhao Ba-lang Wu-han 召霸浪烏罕 [Cao Pharang U-Kham?] is a descendant of Mang Ying-li 莽應裏 [Nandabayin, r. 1581–1599]. [They] are called Mang, or Man, or Mian, or Ava. In general, they belong to the Mang dala [mang ta ja: Burmese king] tribes. Their dens [*caoxue*] are called Baigu [Pegu], Wengsa, and Dongwu [Toungou]. Incidentally, they raised troops to attack the

⁸¹ It could not have been Mang Yingli who conquered Pegu in 1532, but probably Mang Rui-ti (Tabinshwehti, r. 1531–1550) or Mang Ying-long (Bayinnaung, r. 1551–1581).

⁸² *Mingshi Gao* 189, 32b. In *Tianqi Dian zhi*, ch. 30, p. 34 on Cheli, it states: “In the reign of Jiajing (1522–66), [Cheli] was subordinate to Burma. In the year Wanli 11 (1584), the government troops attacked Burma. The Pacification Commissioner (*xuanwei*), Dao Nuo-meng (Tao Nò Moeng), sent envoys to offer tribute in elephant(s) and local products. The elder brother stayed in the Greater Cheli and offered his allegiance to the Burmese envoys; the younger brother stayed in the Lesser Cheli and offered his allegiance to the Chinese envoys.”

Prefecture of Menggen (Moeng Khün; Keng Tung). The Prefect sought help from Cheli (Sipsòng Panna). The Pacification Commissioner [of Cheli], Dao Yun-meng 刀韞猛 (Cao Ong Moeng, r. 1598–1628), sent ten thousand soldiers, [and] ten elephants, and marched to reinforce them. [Thus, the Burmese] took revenge. [At that time] Dao Yun-meng, who was old and weak, was eager to seek a peaceful solution, [so he decided to pay] a huge bribe [as indemnity] for the peace. When the Burmese chief heard that Dao Yun-meng's son, Zhao He-xuan 召河璇, had a beautiful daughter called Zhao Wu-gang 召烏岡, he demanded [Sipsòng Panna] to deliver Zhao Wu-gang to him. However, Zhao He-xuan cheated the Burmese by giving him a different girl. When the Burmese realised that it was the wrong girl, he was greatly exasperated. He then sent his troops and moved the troops of Babai (Lan Na) and other places to attack Mengzhe (Moeng Cae) and Cheli (Chiang Rung). As Dao Yun-meng and his son could not resist the attack, they fled to Simao (Moeng La), a land under [Chiang Rung]. Forthwith, the Burmese sent two guides to pursue [the fugitives] in the night, captured Dao Yun-meng and Zhao He-xuan, and brought them back under escort. The conflicts between Ava and Cheli began in Wanli 44 (1616) ... [The frontier officials] petitioned to send a punitive force against Burma's crimes. However, before China could confer about sending troops, Cheli (Sipsòng Panna) was already destroyed.⁸³

The expansion of Burmese power in the sixteenth century coincided with the weakening of Ming control over the Tai kingdoms on China's southern frontiers. Sipsòng Panna was completely under the control of Ava-Burma in the early seventeenth century. The twenty-second ruler of Moeng Lü, Cao In Moeng (r. 1568–1598/1569–1578), was offered a Burmese princess as his queen consort. The Burmese king interfered directly in the appointment of the *Saenwi Fa* of Sipsòng Panna. The *Saenwi Fa* of Sipsòng Panna, after being appointed by China, had to send envoys to Burma to ask for the consent of the Burmese king. The loyalty

⁸³ *Mingshi Gao* 189, 32b.

of the ruling house of Sipsòng Panna was split between China and Burma. Ambitious uncles or cousins offered their allegiance to Burma to strengthen their power. It happened that there were two Tai Lü *Saenwi Fa*, one recognised by China and the other by Burma.⁸⁴ Moeng Lü paid tribute to both China and Burma, learning how to survive under the “protection” of two foreign overlords. The supreme rulers of Moeng Lü during this period who owed allegiance to the Burmese king were conferred Burmese titles. They had both Tai Lü names and sinicised names.

The Sixth Fratricidal Conflict

The continued succession of *Saenwi Fa* to the throne seemed to run smoothly until China deposed the incompetent Tao Sao Wün (Dao Shao-wen, r. 1729–1767/1707–1730). According to two different chronicles:

In the year CS 1129, moeng-kai (1767 CE), the Heavenly Court accused Tao Sao Wün of being incompetent in managing the affairs and dismissed him (Li Fuyi, 1947).

Tao Sao Wün succeeded his elder brother [Tao Cin Pao] to the throne in the year CS 1069, *moeng-kai* (1707 CE) at the age of twenty-five years.⁸⁵ [...] Tao Sao Wün succeeded to the throne and was also appointed by the Heavenly Court and conferred by the King of Burma. Tao Sao Wün was unable to administrate. He was weak and incapable. The Burmese invaded the frontiers frequently, plundered many animals and properties, yet no resistance was posed. As a result the inhabitants of Sipsòng Panna fled in great numbers [to other

⁸⁴ In 1818, Tao Thai Kang led the *cao moeng* from the east and west of the Mekong to Burma and he returned to Chiang Rung as the Burmese *Saenwi Fa*, while his nephew Tao Sunwu was the Chinese *Saenwi Fa*. See Li Fuyi (1947), p. 35.

⁸⁵ According to the Veritable Records of the Qing, Dao Shao-wen (Tao Sao Wün) succeeded his father, who died in Yongzheng 7 (1729), in Yongzheng 12, 8th month (1734), at the age of fifteen years. *Shizong Shilu* 146, p. 13.

places]. Hence he was deposed by the Heavenly Court (Gao Lishi, 1984).

The Burmese invasions around the mid-eighteenth century are well documented in the Veritable Records of the Qing Dynasty (*Qing Shilu*). According to the Veritable Records of the Gaozong, the “stupid” and “cowardly” *Saenwi Fa* of Cheli (Sipsòng Panna), Dao Shao-wen, was deposed in early 1767 (Qianlong 31, 12th month, *bingwu* day: Jan. 10, 1767; CS 1128).⁸⁶ Li Fuyi must have adjusted the year according to the Chinese sources.

The incompetent Tao Sao Wün (Dao Shao-wen) had six sons: Tao Wui Phin (Dao Wei-ping), Tao Cao Thian, Tao Cao Paeng, Tao Cao Suwan, Tao Cao Saeng, and Tao Cao Cai, and many grandchildren and great grandchildren. After Tao Sao Wün had been deposed, his eldest son, Tao Wui Phin (r. 1767-1777/1730-1745), succeeded him as *Saenwi Fa* and his second son, Tao Cao Thian, was appointed the Vice-*Saenwi Fa* by the Burmese court.⁸⁷

In the year CS 1129 (1767 CE), the Heavenly Court (Qing court) appointed Tao Wui Phin (Dao Wei-ping) as the *Saenwi Fa*. Tao Wui Phin sent emissaries to deliver a letter to the King of Burma and report [the event]. The King of Burma consented and appointed Tao Wui Phin as the *Saenwi Fa* of the Burmese side (court). His younger brother Tao Cao Thian was appointed the Vice-*Saenwi Fa* (Upalaca)⁸⁸ of the Burmese side (court) (Li Fuyi, 1947).

In the following year, Tao Wui Phin and his younger brother, Tao Cao Thian, became aware of the dissent sown by the former's son-in-law, Cao Moeng Nai, and Cao Kòng of Moeng Yòng (Mengyong). They resented the Qing Court, so they defected with their families to Moeng

⁸⁶ See *Gaozong Shilu* 774, pp. 10–11.

⁸⁷ According to Gao Lishi (1984), p. 122, “Tao Wui Phin succeeded to the throne and his younger brother Tao Cao Thian was appointed Upalaca (Vice-*Saenwi Fa*).” The same is recorded in 1963-Tai Lü. This could mean that Tao Wui Phin appointed his younger brother, Tao Cao Thian, as his vice-king.

⁸⁸ Vice-king or Vice-*Saenwi Fa*, i.e., Upalaca.

Yòng. Later, they returned to Chiang Rung, but the Qing Court distrusted them. In the year CS 1135 (1773 CE), the Qing court dispatched officials to Chiang Rung and arrested Tao Wui Phin and his younger brother, Tao Mòu Suwan. They were brought to Moeng Maen (Ninger) and then escorted to Moeng Sae Luang (Kunming). Tao Wui Phin and Tao Cao Thian were removed from their posts. The Qing Court prohibited Tao Wui Phin's son -- Cao Fa Can (i.e., Tao Yung Khò) -- and Tao Cao Thian's sons -- Cao Maha Phom and Cao Mahakhanan -- to succeed them to the post of *Saenwi Fa*.⁸⁹

Tao Wui Phin lived in Moeng Sae (Kunming) three years until he died of illness. Tao Cao Suwan (r. 1777-1796/1746-1763), the younger brother of Tao Cao Thian, was then sent back to Sipsòng Panna to succeed to the throne. Tao Cao Suwan had three sons: Tao Thai Phin (died young), Tao Thai Khò (Cao Mòu Mahawong), and Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mòu Mahawang). Tao Cao Sunwan died in 1796 CE (or, perhaps, 1763).

In the year CS 1159 (1797 CE), the Qing Court appointed the second son of Tao Cao Suwan, Tao Thai Khò (r. 1797-1802/1764-1770), as the *Saenwi Fa* of Cheli. Tao Thai Khò dispatched envoys to Burma to ask the King of Burma to confer on him the Burmese *Saenwi Fa*-ship of Sipsòng Panna. However, the Burmese authorities disapproved on the grounds that Tao Thai Khò was too young. Instead, the King of Burma immediately summoned his elder uncle, Tao Cao Thian (Dao Zhao-ding), to Burma to agree to be the vassal (subject and servant) of both China and Burma. Tao Cao Thian dispatched his envoys Phaya Luang Khoen from Moeng Cae and Phaya U-ten from Chiang Rung to Burma to make the request on his behalf. The King of Burma consented and appointed Tao Cao Thian as the *Saenwi Fa* on the Burmese side. Thus, the Qing Court had appointed Tao Thai Khò and the Burmese Court had appointed his uncle, Tao Cao Thian, to be the *Saenwi Fa* for the Manchu and Burmese Courts. The Burmese authorities still refused to recognise Tao Thai Khò, so the seeds of the dispute over the succession were sown. This later led to fighting for the throne between the faction led by Cao Maha Khanan and his son Cao Nò Kham and that led by the two grandsons of Tao Mòu Suwan, Cao Suca Wanna (or Tao Coen Cong) and Cao Lammawuttha (or Tao Soen Cong) (see below).

⁸⁹ Li Fuyi (1947), p. 31.

Three years later (1800 CE), Tao Thai Khò (i.e., Cao Mò-m Mahawong) dispatched Phaya Luang Khiao Kham Pian from Chiang Rung and Laca Cai from Moeng Cae to Burma to present another memorial to the king, requesting permission to succeed to the throne of *Saenwi Fa*. The King of Burma consented and appointed Tao Thai Khò as the Burmese *Saenwi Fa*. The Burmese emissary brought the letter of appointment to Chiang Tung (Kengtung). However, Tao Thai Khò had died from illness and there was no one to whom the letter of appointment could be delivered. This occurred in the year CS 1164 (1802 CE).

Cao Fa Can (Tao Yung Khò) becomes a Burmese Saenwi Fa; Cao Maha Phom killed by Cao Fa Can; the Splitting allegiance of the People in Sipsòng Panna

Tao Thai Khò (i.e., Cao Mò-m Mahawong) had a son called Tao Sunwu (Dao Sheng-wu), whose Tai name was Cao Maha Nòi. He was just two years old, too young to be appointed as the *Saenwi Fa*. Thus, the Sipsòng Panna nobles held a meeting and decided to go to Moeng Luang (Menglong) to invite Tao Sunwu's uncle, Tao Yung Khò (whose Tai name is Cao Fa Can),⁹⁰ to be ruler, but the Qing Court disapproved. Nevertheless, Tao Yung Khò still dispatched Cao Tham of Moeng Hai (Menghai) and Cao Laca Cai of Moeng Luang (Menglong) to Ava to request permission for the succession. They followed the envoys sent by Burma to Ava. The King of Burma therefore appointed Tao Yung Khò as the Burmese appointee to the position of *Saenwi Fa*.

Tao Yung Khò (viz. Cao Can or Cao Fa Can) was not on friendly terms with his cousin, Cao Maha Phom (son of Tao Cao Thian), so Tao Yung Khò sent his guards to kill Cao Maha Phom at Chiang Lò (Jingluo). As the six *panna* located to the east of the Mekong River had always supported Cao Maha Phom, they refused to submit. Under the leadership of the Cao Fa of Moeng Phong (Mengpeng), they commanded troops to attack Tao Yung Khò. The six *panna* to the west of the river could not triumph over the six *panna* in the east, so Tao Yung Khò fled with his wives and children to Chiang Tung (Moeng Khün).

⁹⁰ He was the son of Tao Wui Phin and was not permitted to be the *Saenwi Fa* of the Qing court.

After Cao Fa Can had succeeded to the throne, he dispatched Cao Tham from Moeng Hai and Cao Laca Cai from Moeng Luang to accompany the Burmese emissaries back to Moeng Nai and Angwa [Ava]. The King of Burma approved and appointed Cao Fa Can as *Saenwi Fa*. Later, Cao Fa Can and Cao Maha Phom [the two cousins] were not in friendly terms. Cao Fa Can sent “khun-khaek” [kaeo-han?? (i.e., praetorian guards)] and had Cao Maha Phom killed. The six *panna* to the east of the [Mekong] River favoured Cao Maha Phom. Under the leadership of the Cao Fa of Moeng Phong, they commanded troops and marched to attack Cao Fa Can. The six *panna* to the west of the [Mekong] River favoured Cao Fa Can, but could not triumph over the six *panna* to the east of the river (Gao Lishi, 1984).⁹¹

Not long afterwards, Tao Yung Khò (Cao Fa Can) travelled to Ava to ask the King of Burma to send troops to help him return to Sipsòng Panna. He was willing to present the six *panna* to the west of the Mekong River to Burma, while the six *panna* east of the river, would remain under the suzerainty of the Qing Court. The Mekong River was to be the boundary. The King of Burma turned down the offer because there was no such precedent. Tao Yung Khò's motive was to instigate a war. The Burmese king threw Tao Yung Khò into prison, then, a year later, banished him to Moeng Nai.

In the year CS 1165 (1803 CE), King Kawila (r. 1782–1816) of Chiang Mai conquered and annexed Moeng Pae (Phrae) and Moeng Nan (in Siam). He then marched north with his troops to Moeng Ta Lò (Daluo 打洛).⁹² At that time, all the *cao fa* and *cao mòm* to the east of the Salween (Nam Hung) River had submitted to Kawila except for Tao Yung Khò (Cao Can or Cao Fa Can).

In the year CS 1168 (1806 CE), the Supreme Commander of Moeng Nai, Ngon Moang Moeng, ordered Tao Yung Khò (Cao Fa Can) to join

⁹¹ The same is recorded in Li Fuyi (1947), 30.6.

⁹² Daluo (or Moeng Ta Lò) in Fohai County is a border town on the eastern bank of the Nanlan River (Nam Lam), only five kilometres from Burma.

forces with the Burmese commander-in-chief, Sayachuo Na-nao (Sa-ya-zuo Na-nuo), to attack Kawila. However, Tao Yung Khò had other plans. He hoped to make use of the Kawila troops to reoccupy Sipsòng Panna so that he could become the *Saenwi Fa* again. Thus, he secretly offered silks and money to Kawila at Moeng Ta Lò (Daluo) and persuaded Kawila to move his camp to the Brasat Nòng Wat at Chiang Coeng in Moeng Hai. Tao Yung Khò submitted to Kawila's authorities and secretly brought his wives and children to Kawila's camp. Later, he followed Kawila and defected to Chiang Mai where he passed away without an heir.

In the years from CS 1168–1170 (1806–1808 CE), the Burmese commander-in-chief, Sayachuo Na-nao, fought a violent and bloody war with Kawila of Siam. Many places, including Chiang Tung, Chiang Rung (Sipsòng Panna), Moeng Laem, Chiang Khaeng, and Moeng Yòng were ruined and the villages were left desolate. The nobles and people from those places fled in great confusion to Moeng Kūng Ma (Gengma), Moeng Kla (Mengjia), Moeng Bò (Mengbo), Moeng Tuo (Mengduo), Moeng Pan (Mengban), Moeng Kaeo (Jiaozhi), and Laos (Laowo), as well as to Moeng Hò (Chinese region). Those who could not flee in time were captured by Kawila and deported to Chiang Mai and Moeng Nan. Consequently, the region around Chiang Yung (Chiang Rung) was depopulated and became desolate. This is documented in Tai Lü sources:

Because of the invasion of Kawila and of the defection of Cao Fa Can (i.e., Tao Yung Khò), Chiang Tung, Chiang Rung, Moeng Laem, Chiang Khaeng, and Moeng Yòng became battle fields. Countless animals, properties and inhabitants of Sipsòng Panna had been looted or captured by Kawila and deported to Moeng Phrae, Moeng Nan, and Chiang Mai. Those who were not captured fled in hast to Kūng Ma (Gengma), Moeng Kla, Moeng Bò, and Moeng Pan (in present day Jinggu County). Some of them fled to Moeng Kaeo (Vietnam), Moeng Lao (Laos), and Moeng Hò (Chinese territory). As a result many stockade-villages in Sipsòng Panna were depopulated and lands were deserted and fields turned desolate (Gao Lishi, 1984).⁹³

⁹³ A very similar account is recorded in Li Fuyi (1947), 31.4, which agrees that

The Rivalry Between Tao Sunwu (nephew) and Tao Thai Khang (uncle)

As described above, in the year CS 1164 (1802 CE), Tao Sunwu (Cao Mò-m Maha Nòi) succeeded his father, Tao Thai Khò (Cao Mahawang), as the *Saenwi Fa* at the age of just two years old. The Qing Court appointed another uncle, Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mò-m Mahawang), as regent.

When he was of age in the year CS 1179 (1817 CE), the Qing Court formally appointed Tao Sunwu (Cao Mò-m Maha Nòi) as *Saenwi Fa*. At that time, the Crown Prince of Burma, Maha Nem Nyo, was the Supreme Commander of Moeng Nai. He sent envoys to Chiang Yung (Chiang Rung) to summon Tao Sunwu (Cao Mò-m Maha Nòi) and Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mò-m Mahawang) to Burma (Ava). They could not leave Chiang Rung because they were the *Saenwi Fa* and regent of the Qing court so the King of Burma was displeased.

The following year, CS 1180 (1818 CE), the various *cao moeng* from the east and west of the Mekong River, under the leadership of Tao Sunwu's uncle, Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mò-m Mahawang), travelled with the Burmese emissaries to Ava to pay their respects to the King of Burma, Bodawhpaya, (r. 1781–1819).⁹⁴ Bodawhpaya was delighted and immediately appointed Tao Thai Khang as the Burmese *Saenwi Fa* with the title, *Coti Nakkala (Nagara) Mahawongsa Laca*. Then Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mò-m Mahawang) returned to Chiang Yung (Chiang Rung) to assume the post of the Burmese *Saenwi Fa*. Thus, at that time there were two *Saenwi Fa* in Chiang Rung: The Qing Court recognised Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi), while the Burmese Court recognised the regent, Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mò-m Mahawang).

The uncle and nephew ruled together for a year, but they were not on friendly terms. Tao Thai Khang was more powerful than his nephew, Tao Sunwu. Tao Sunwu, aware that he was no match for his uncle, sought refuge in Moeng La (Simao). The officials and people from the area east of the Mekong River all followed him. Later, Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi), dissatisfied with the Chinese officials, secretly sent Cao Khanan from Moeng Òng (Mengwang)⁹⁵ to Moeng Pae (Phrae) and Moeng

the battles were fought between the years CS 1168 and 1170 (1806 and 1808 CE).

⁹⁴ A son of Alaungpaya (r. 1752–1760) of Shwebo.

⁹⁵ According to 1963-Tai Lü Chronicle, 38.4, Cao Khanan was the ruler of

Nan to bribe and persuade Kawila to attack his uncle, Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mòmm Mahawang). In the year CS 1184 (1822 CE), Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mòmm Mahawang) and Kawila fought at Moeng Ham (Gan-lan-ba). The defeated Kawila took his troops to plunder Moeng Yò (Mengyue) and Moeng Bun (Mengben).⁹⁶ As one chronicle relates,

The uncle and nephew ruled together one year. Later because of a power struggle they were not in friendly terms. Cao Maha Nòi (Tao Sunwu), aware that he was isolated and weak, sought refuge in Moeng La (Simao and Liushun) on the pretext of learning. The five moeng to the east of the river all supported Cao Maha Nòi. Later, Cao Maha Nòi was dissatisfied with the senior official of Simao (Moeng La) and wanted to return to Chiang Yung (Rung). But as he was of no match for Cao Mahawang, he secretly sent Cao Khanan of Moeng Òng to bring money to Moeng Phrae and Moeng Nan to persuade Kawila to come to attack Cao Mahawang. They fought at Moeng Ham (i.e., Ganlanba).⁹⁷ As the [military] strength of Kawila could not match that of Cao Mahawang, he turned instead to plunder Moeng Yò and Moeng Bun, and robbed every thing before returning (Gao Lishi, 1984).

The Burmese appointed the commander-in-chief, Suai Ling Tewa (Rui Lin Diewa), to pick one hundred and fifty brave men and march straight to Chiang Yung (Chiang Rung) to arrest Tao Sunwu. Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi) abandoned his wives and children in Moeng La (Simao) and fled to the hills in Bò La (Yibang). The Burmese commander-in-chief, Suai Ling Tewa, took a small path to the hills and arrested Tao Sunwu, and delivered him under escort to Ava. The Burmese found Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi) guilty and incarcerated him in the royal prison. Later, on the petition of his uncle, Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mòmm Mahawang), the

Moeng Bang.

⁹⁶ Previously Moeng Yò and Moeng Bun were in Moeng La (Zhenyue) under Sipsòng Panna, now in Laos.

⁹⁷ According to Li Fuyi (1947), 31.9, the battle was fought in Moeng Ham (south of Chiang Rung) in the year CS 1184 (1822 CE).

King of Burma allowed Tao Sunwu to serve as his personal attendant.

Tao Sunwu was the *Saenwi Fa* of China, but the Burmese detained him. In year CS 1187 (1825 CE), the Qing court sent envoys to Ava and demanded that Burma deliver Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi) to them. Tao Sunwu was first brought back to Kunming and then placed under detention in Simao (Moeng La), where he lived for six years.

In the year CS 1195 (1833 CE), Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi) bribed the hill tribes⁹⁸ and the lords (*cao mòm*) of the *moeng* (polity) in the eastern half of Sipsòng Panna.⁹⁹ He won their support for a joint attack on Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mòm Mahawang). Tao Thai Khang marched his troops to the foothills of Dòi Nam Yang (Nanyang), where he defeated the tribal forces raised by Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi). He then proceeded to Simao (Moeng La), where Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi) was detained. The Chinese officials ordered Tao Sunwu to disband his tribal militia, but he defied the order. Thus, the Chinese officials in Simao petitioned to the Governor-general of Yunnan-Guizhou (seat in Kunming) to dismiss Tao Sunwu from office and to send his wife (wives) and son(s) under escort to Kunming. This was approved, but Tao Sunwu managed to take his seal and absconded secretly to Moeng Sò on the border of Vietnam, where he later died.

Tao Coen Cong Against his Uncles and Cousins

Tao Thai Khang had two sons: the eldest was Tao Coen Cong (Dao Zheng-zong), whose Tai name was Cao Suca Wanna and the younger was Tao Soen Cong (Dao Cheng-zong), whose Tai name was Cao Sali Wanna or Cao Lamma Awuttha. In 1834 CE, after defeating his nephew, Tao Sunwu, Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mòm Mahawang) petitioned the Qing Court in Beijing to allow his son Tao Coen Cong to succeed him as *Saenwi Fa*. It was approved. Two years later (1836 CE), Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mòm Mahawang) died.

In 1837 CE, the newly installed *Saenwi Fa*, Tao Coen Cong (Cao Suca Wanna), and his younger brother, Tao Soen Cong, sent envoys¹⁰⁰ to

⁹⁸ The Lua (Lawa), Musoe (Luohei), and San Thaen

⁹⁹ Moeng La-Tai (Liushun), Moeng Hing (Puteng), Moeng Ong (Mengwang), Chiang Tòng (Zhengdong), and Moeng U-Nüa (Mengwu).

¹⁰⁰ They were Phaya Luang Sai, the lord of Moeng Cae (Mengzhe), the lord of

deliver a memorial to the King of Burma. The King of Burma consented and appointed Tao Coen Cong as the *Saenwi Fa* of the Burmese side with the honorific title, *Coti Nakkala (Nagara) Maha Wongsala Laca*. His younger brother, Tao Soen Cong (also called Cao Sali Wanna), was appointed as the Vice-*Saenwi Fa* (i.e., *Upalaca*).

The next civil war involving foreign intervention took place in the reigns of Tao Coen Cong (Dao Zheng-zong, r. 1834–1864/1809–1827) and Tao Soen Cong (Dao Cheng-zong). Two years after Tao Coen Cong was enthroned, his uncles and cousins banded together against the two brothers to claim the throne of the *Saenwi Fa*.

In 1838 CE, Cao Maha Khanan,¹⁰¹ Tao Cao Cai,¹⁰² Cao Nò Kham,¹⁰³ and Cao Phom,¹⁰⁴ colluded with Phaya Luang Cang, Phaya Luang Cana Lücai, and Phaya Còm Kham. They led three hundred soldiers to Chiang Rung to fight the two brothers for the throne of the *Saenwi Fa*. They besieged the fortifications of the *Saenwi Fa* and declared that they were going to kill both Tao Coen Cong and Tao Soen Cong and annihilate the headmen (nobles) of their immediate family and their close relations (Li Fuyi, 1947).¹⁰⁵

Moeng Hing (Puteng), Phaya Phom of Chiang Thòng (Zhengdong), and Phaya Pala of Moeng Phong (Mengpeng). See Li Fuyi (1947), p. 37; Gao Lishi (1984), p. 124.

¹⁰¹ He was Tao Cao Thian's second son. Thus, he was the cousin of Tao Coen Cong's father.

¹⁰² Tao Cao Cai was Tao Sao Wün's sixth son. Thus, Tao Cao Cai was Cao Maha Khanan's uncle and the young Tao Coeng Cong's grand uncle.

¹⁰³ According to Li Fuyi (1947), p. 31 (27.2), Cao Nò Kham was the eldest son of Cao Maha Khanan, who was the second son of Tao Cao Thian. Thus Cao Nò Kham and Cao Coen Cong were cousins. But according to Gao Lishi (1984), p. 122 (35. Tao Suwan), Cao Phom, Cao Cai and Cao Nò Kham were the three sons of Tao Cao Cai (Tao Sao Wün's sixth son). Hence Cao Nò Kham was the uncle of Cao Coen Cong.

¹⁰⁴ According to Li Fuyi (1947), he was a younger brother of Cao Nò Kham.

¹⁰⁵ Cao Suca Wanna (or Dao Zheng-zong) and Cao Lamma Awuttha (or Dao Cheng-zong) were the sons of Cao Mòm Mahawang (Tao Thai Khang) and grandsons of Tao Mòm Suwan (Dao Shiwan), who was a younger brother of Tao Cao Thian (Dao Zhaoding). Tao Thai Khang and Cao Maha Khanan were cousins. Cao Nò Kham, supported by his father, was fighting for the throne with his cousins Cao Suca Wanna and Cao Lamma Awuttha.

Cao Chiang Ha (the speaker of the *nüa sanam*)¹⁰⁶ and the other nobles of the *moeng* in Sipsòng Panna¹⁰⁷ were against Cao Maha Khanan's plot. They thus made a counter-plot. They pretended to surrender, but in the middle of the night they sent a military officer of Moeng Phong (Mengpeng) to bring Tao Coen Cong (Cao Suca Wanna) and his younger brother across the Mekong River. They were first hidden at Ban Na Kha (Man Naka) and later escorted to Simao (Moeng La) under the protection of the Chinese. After the two brothers had gone, Cao Chiang Ha summoned the nobles of Sipsòng Panna for a meeting. They decided to appoint Cao Nò Kham as *Saenmi Fa*, and proposed promoting Phaya Luang Cang, Phaya Luang Cana Lücai, and Phaya Còm Kham to be the ministers of the Council of Nobles (*nüa sanam*).¹⁰⁸ As the three men were going to the Council of Nobles (*nüa sanam*) to assume their posts, soldiers hidden in an ambush set up by the various nobles of Sipsòng Panna suddenly rose and caught the three men, and immediately had them killed before the Council of Nobles. Frightened, Cao Nò Kham fled.¹⁰⁹

Cao Nò Kham hid in the upland forests. When he saw that his father (Cao Maha Khanan), his brother (Cao Phom), and clan members had all been killed, he fled from Sipsòng Panna to Moeng Pan and then to Moeng Küng Ma (Gengma), where he sought refuge. Not long afterwards, he returned to Chiang Rung and mustered the Pha Phüng (hill tribes in Fohai) and Musoe (Luohei) to harass Sipsòng Panna. Defeated, the tribal troops dispersed and later he hid again at Pha Phüng.¹¹⁰

The lord of Chiang Tung sent his son Tao Bun Hoeng (Roeng) (Tao

¹⁰⁶ *Nüa sanam*, the council of nobles of the Tai Lü people was like the Parliament of the *Cao phaendin* of Moeng Lü. It was an administrative council, where the nobles (*khun*) convened to discuss state affairs. The President of the speaker of the Council was called Cao Chiang Ha.

¹⁰⁷ According to 1963-Tai Lü, 39.3, they were the *khun hua-moeng* (provincial nobles).

¹⁰⁸ According to 1963-Tai Lü, 39.4, the three *phaya* were to be promoted to *amat ton phu nyai* (i.e., high-ranking officials) [of the *nüa sanam*].

¹⁰⁹ Li Fuyi (1947), p. 37; the same is recorded in Gao Lishi (1984), p. 125.

¹¹⁰ According to 1963-Tai Lü, 39.6, and Gao Lishi (1984), p. 125, Cao Nò Kham mustered Lua and Kha Kui Pha Phüng and returned to harass Sipsòng Panna. Defeated, he fled to the hills of Kha Kui Pha Phüng.

Ben-leng) to lead fifty men to Ban Kha Wa of Ban Chiang Can to pick up Cao Nò Kham and force him to leave the Kha Kui, the Lua, and Musoe. During this time, the tribal troops under Cao Chiang Ha were engaged in a bitter and bloody war with the Pha Phüng and Musoe. Tao Bun Hoeng (Roeng) captured Cao Nò Kham and brought him to Chiang Tung. On the way, passing Moeng Man and Moeng Cae, they burnt and looted more than ten villages, including Ban Kao, Hua Moeng, and Ban Kha. They arrived at Chaing Tung (Kengtung) and sought refuge from the Phaya of Chiang Tung.

In the same year (AD 1838), the Phaya of Chiang Tung incited Cao Phom¹¹¹ and Cao Nò Kham to launch another attack on Sipsòng Panna and Moeng Laem from the rear. At that time, Sipsòng Panna was still fighting a war against the Mosoe.¹¹² On learning that Cao Nò Kham was leading his troops to attack them, they dispatched a contingent of soldiers to fight against Cao Nò Kham at Ban Na Ngòi in Moeng Pan.¹¹³ Cao Nò Kham's troops were defeated. The troops of Sipsòng Panna pursued them to Moeng La and Moeng Ma. The fighting went on for a long period and could not be stopped.

The news reached the Qing and Burmese courts. They regarded Cao Nò Kham as the ringleader of the conflicts. The Chinese officials of Simao (Moeng La) sent the district magistrate, Wei, and the district magistrate, Shen, to Chiang Rung to end the hostilities. The Burmese also sent their high official, *pyanki*¹¹⁴ Nòratha, and the *sitkè* of Chiang Tung¹¹⁵ to Chiang Rung to mediate in the disputes. The delegates of the Qing and Burmese courts convened at Chiang Rung.

The chief delegate of Chiang Yung was the commander-in-chief of Sipsòng Panna, Cao Puttha Phommawongsa Mangkala Singhalaca of Moeng Chiang Ha.¹¹⁶ The chief delegate of Moeng Laem was the commander-in-chief of Moeng Laem, Cao Puttha Phommawongsa

¹¹¹ According to Gao Lishi (1984), p. 125, he was Cao Maha Phom.

¹¹² According to Gao Lishi (1984), this was Kagui (Kha Kui).

¹¹³ To the west of Fohai County.

¹¹⁴ *Pyanki* is an official title, comparable to "supreme commander."

¹¹⁵ *Sitkè* is an official title, comparable to "military officer" or "platoon leader." According to the 1963-Tai Lü, 39.9, and Gao Lishi (1984), p. 125, they were *pyanki* Nòratha (Winòthao) and the *sitkè* of Chiang Tung.

¹¹⁶ This is the full title of Cao Chiang Ha, the president of the Council of Nobles (*niia sanam*).

Cotikalatha Wòlalaca. The chief delegate of Chiang Tung was the commander-in-chief of Moeng Khün, Phaya Luang Khaek Compu. An agreement was reached and five copies of the peace treaty were prepared: one each for the delegate of the Qing Court, the delegate of the Burmese side, Chiang Rung, Chiang Tung, and Moeng Laem.

The Chinese delegates agreed to give Cao Nò Kham to Chiang Tung, but Chiang Tung had to guarantee that he would not harass Sipsòng Panna. Chiang Tung agreed, but added a request:

If, in the future, the incumbent *Saenwi Fa* (Tao Ceon Cong, i.e., Cao Suca Wanna) should pass away without an heir, the five copies [of treaty] that have been made are to be gathered together and Cao Nò Kham shall be allowed to return to Chiang Yung (Chiang Rung) and succeed to the post (sic) throne of *Saenwi Fa* (Li Fuyi, 1947).¹¹⁷

The treaty was agreed on the second day of the waxing moon of the seventh month of the year CS 1201 (1839 CE). However, peace was not restored after the treaty, as Kawila came to attack Chiang Rung. Then, after the unrest caused by Kawila had been quelled, the Burmese envoys colluded with Phaya Chiang Tung, who wanted to seize the opportunity to reinstate Cao Nò Kham as ruler of Sipsòng Panna, by making false charges against Cao Suca Wanna (Tao Coen Cong/Dao Zhengzong).¹¹⁸

The Seventh Fratricidal Conflict

The Vice *Saenwi Fa* (*upalaca*) Cao Lamma Awuttha (Dao Cheng-zong), who married in Moeng Luang, had a son called Cao Mòm Sò (Dao Jun-an). The *Saenwi Fa*, Cao Suca Wanna (Dao Zheng-zong), adopted his nephew, Cao Mòm Sò. Later, Cao Suca Wanna had a son called Cao Mòm Saeng. On the death of Cao Suca Wanna, his son, Cao Mòm Saeng, was only two years old. Thus, Cao Mòm Sò (r. 1863–1869), who was twenty, became the *Saenwi Fa*. Fratricide took place sixteen years

¹¹⁷ The same is recorded in Gao Lishi (1984), p. 125, and in 1963-Tai Lü Chronicle (39.13).

¹¹⁸ Li Fuyi (1947), p. 39.

later when Cao Mò Saeng was eighteen years old. He led troops to claim his father's throne and killed his cousin Cao Mò Sò (i.e., Cao Mò Khung Kham or Dao Jun-an). As one chronicle relates:

Cao Mò Sò (Cao Mò Khung Kham), Chinese name Tao Cin An (Pinyin: Dao Jun-an), succeeded his adopted father (i.e., uncle) to the throne in the year CS 1225, ka-kai (AD 1863) at the age of 20 years. He was on the throne 16 years, lived to the age of 36 years and died in the year CS 1241 (AD 1879). Later his younger brother Cao Mò Saeng usurped the throne. He led warriors to chase Cao Mò Sò out of the palace. Cao Mò Sò fled to the monastery Wat Hua Nòng in Moeng Ham. Cao Mò Saeng sent warriors to pursue him and had his elder brother (in fact cousin) killed at Wat Hua Nòng. This was a fratricidal war and power struggle (Gao Lishi, 1984).

Cao Mò Saeng was on the throne for only three years. Under the leadership of Moeng La, the lords of the *moeng* to the east of the Mekong River rose against him. They killed him to the north of Ban Sa in Chiang Rung in the year CS 1245 (1883 CE). Cao Mò Saeng died at the age of twenty-one and left no son. Thus, after the death of Cao Mò Saeng, the eldest son of Cao Mò Sò, who was brought to Chiang Tung after his father was killed, returned to become the *Saenwi Fa*.

Conclusion

The Chronicles of Moeng Lü (CML) is replete with killings and civil wars. Recorded above are seven major conflicts involving disputes related to succession to the throne of *Saenwi Fa*. The CML's coverage of the successive reigns is not equal. The records of about one third of the reigns are very brief but that does not mean that there was no fighting during these reigns. Moeng Lü or Cheli was not a unified Tai kingdom. As recorded in the "Basic Annals" of the *History of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuanshi*), as early as around 1297/98 there were the Greater Cheli and Lesser Cheli. Moeng Lü was partitioned into two by the Mekong River long before Burmese expansion in the sixteenth century. The inter-Tai

conflicts are reflected in the contemporary Chinese sources.

As can be deduced from the very unequal length of the records and the discrepancies between the various versions, the various manuscript-copies of the Chronicles of Moeng Lü are not based on a master manuscript or a printed contemporary record. No CML had ever been published until 1947 when Li Fuyi translated several manuscript copies of Moeng Lü into Chinese and printed a short version of the Tai Lü manuscript copy besides his Chinese translations.¹¹⁹ The historical events of each reign were recorded posthumously. The various versions of the CML are cumulative works compiled over many years and have been copied and recopied with information added or deleted at various times.

¹¹⁹ F. M. Liew and Volker Grabowsky are preparing the publication of their translations of two long versions and three short versions of the Chronicles of Moeng Lü.

Appendix

Table
The Supreme Rulers (*Cao Phaendin*) of Moeng Lü (Sipsòng Panna)¹²⁰

	Tai Lü	In Chinese <i>Pinyin</i>	Li Fuyi (1947)	Gao Lishi (1984)	Name of the princes, according to seniority
1	Phaya Coeng	Ba Zhen	1180–1192	1159–1180	4 sons: Tao Pung Hoeng (Lao Yoe Hoeng), Lord of Lan Na; Tao Ai Paeng, Lord of Moeng Keao; Tao Yi Kham Hoeng, Lord of Moeng Lao; Tao Sam Khai Noeng, heir to his father.
2	Sam Khai Noeng	Tao Kangleng	1192–1211	1180–1201	2 sons: Tao Pung (Kung); Ai Yi Peng (Piang), Lord of three <i>panna</i> (Moeng Hun, Moeng Hai and Moeng Cae).
3	Tao Pung/Ai Pung	Tao Beng	1211–1234	1201–1206	1 son: Tao Hung (Rung) Kaen Cai
4	Tao Hung (Rung) Kaen Cai	Tao Long Jian Zai	1234–1257	1206–1227	1 son: Tao Haeng Luang (Raeng); 1 daughter: Nang Kham Kai (mother of Mangkaka Nalai (or Tao Mangrai)
5	Tao Haeng Luang	Dao Lianglong	1257–1273	1228–1254	2 sons: Ai Puwak (Tao Puwak); Yi Peng (Piang) Lak Sai (Lord of Moeng Pòng/Fòng)
6	Tao Puwak	Dao Buwa	1273–1287	1255–1269	Without an heir

¹²⁰ The years are converted into CE. The transliterations of Tai Lü names into Chinese, from Phaya Coeng to Cao Mòm Suca Wanna (Tao Coen Cong), are similar to those given in Li Fuyi (1947). As for the rulers after Cao Mòm Suca Wanna, the transliterations follow those given in Gao Lishi (1984).

7	Cao Yi Peng Lak Sai	Yi Bing La Sai	–	1270–1271	2 sons: Cao Ai; Prince of Moeng Pòng (name unknown)
8	Cao Ai	Dao Ai	1287–1347	1271–1311	1 son: Cao Khan Moeng
9	Cao Khan Moeng ¹²¹	Dao Kan	1347–1391	1312–1350	3 sons: Tao Sida Kham; Tao Kumman (Lord of Na Mùn Luang); Peo Fai Fa (Lord of Na Saen in Chiang Lan) ¹²²
10	Tao (Cao) Sida Kham ¹²³	Dao Xianda	1391–1413	1350–1430 (80 years)	3 sons: Tao Kù Moeng; Tao Kham Daeng or Tao Kham Tet (Tiat), Lord of Na Mùn Paen; Tao Saen Nang, Lord of Moeng Hing ¹²⁴
11	Tao Kumman	Dao Gongman	–	1430–1432	1 son: Lord of Na Mùn Luang (name is not given).
12	Tao Kù Moeng ¹²⁵	Dao Gengmeng	1413–1415	1433–1436	3 sons: Tao Bakòng, Lord of Moeng Phong; Tao Sòng Moeng; Tao Sam Pò Lütai
13	Tao Sòng Moeng	Dao Shuangmeng	2 ½ months	Between 1436–1439	
14	Tao Bakòng	Dao Bagong	–	1439–1441	
15	Tao Kham Tet (Tiat) or Tao Kham Daeng	Dao Dian or Dao Khangliang	1417–1428	1442–1445	1 good-for- nothing son, so his name is unknown

¹²¹ He married Hòi Sam Cik, a Lawa (Lua) girl.

¹²² He married Nang Paeng Kham Daeng, the daughter of Cao Moeng Laem. They had three sons, Daet Ham Ya (Lord of Na Saen); Ngei Ka (died young); Súa Luang Fa (Súa Luang Fa).

¹²³ He married Nang Pòng Samoe, the sister of Phaya Moeng Khün, Ai Òn (or Òn Ai).

¹²⁴ He had two sons: Cao Ai and Cao Yi, who later both became Lord of Moeng Hing.

¹²⁵ He married Nang Aen Kòm, the daughter of Tao Hin Ban.

16	Soe Long Fa (Süa Luang Fa) ¹²⁶	She Longfa	1428–1457	1446–1466	9 sons: 1) Tao Phasaeng; 2) Tao Còm Pha, Lord of Moeng Luang; 3) Tao Saeo, Lord of Na Mùn Luang; 4) Tao Yòt, Lord of Moeng Long Nam Tha; 5) Tao Kham, Lord of Moeng U-Nüa; 6) Tao Ut, Lord of Moeng Hun; 7) Tao Som (Tao Cet), Lord of Moeng Ngat and Moeng Khang; 8) Tao Fa Nòi, Lord of Na Moeng Long; 9) Tao Sòt Sòi, Lord of Chiang Lu
17	Tao Phasaeng;	Dao Baxian	2 months in 1457	5 months in 1466	
18	Tao Sam Pò Lütai	San Bao Lidai	1457–1497	1467–1490	6 sons: 1) Tao Yi; 2) Cao Moeng, Lord of Moeng Khak; 3) Sam Khai Noeng, Lord of Moeng U-Nüa; 4) Cao Am, Lord of Noeng Nun; 5) Cao Ai; 6) Cao Khan Moeng
19	Tao Sam Khai Noeng	San Kaileng	1497–1502	1491–1495	Died without an heir.
20	Cao Khan Moeng	Zhao Kan	1502–1523	1496–1518	1 son: Cao Sili (Sali) Somphan
21	Cao Sili (Sali) Somphan	Zhao Sili Songban	1523–1530	1518–1539	1 son: Cao Un (Ong) Moeng
22	Cao Un (Ong) Moeng	Dao Nuomeng	1530–1568	1539–1567	2 sons: Cao Sali Sunanta; Cao In Moeng

¹²⁶ He was adopted by his uncle, Tao Sida Kham, and was first invested as the Lord of Moeng Phong. He married his cousin Nang Lun Koei, the sister of Tao Kü Moeng. Later, he also married his cousin's wife, Nang Aen Kòm (the mother of Tao Kü Moeng's three sons).

23	Cao Sali Sunanta	Zhao Sili Sunanda	6 months in 1568	6 months in 1568	Died without an heir.
24	Cao In Moeng ¹²⁷	Dao Yingmeng	1569–1598	1569–1578	1 son: Cao Ong (Nò) Moeng
25	Cao Ong (Nò) Moeng	Dao Yunmeng	1598–1628	1584–1602	1 son: Cao Sili (Sali) Suthamma
26	Cao Sili (Sali) Suthamma	Zhao Shili Sutanma	1628–1639	1603–1620	2 sons: Cao Móm Kham Lü; Cao Mòm Tao
27	Cao Mòm Kham Lü	Zhao Kangle	1639–1669	1621–1634	2 sons: Cao Saeng Moeng (died early); Cao Nò Moeng (still young)
28	Cao Mòm Tao	Dao Mudao	–	1634–1641	1 son: Tao Moeng Tao
29	Cao Nò Moeng	Dao Nuomeng	1669–1681	1642–1655	Died without an heir.
30	Cao Moeng Tao	Dao Mengtao	1681–1684	1655– 1668/69	1 son: Cao Paeng Moeng
31	Cao Paeng Moeng ¹²⁸	Dao Bianmeng	1684–1724	1670– 1697/98	2 sons: Tao Cin Pao; Tao Sao Wün
32	Tao Cin Pao	Dao Jinbao	1724–1729	1698–1707	1 son: Cao Thao Hu Nuak, a stammer

¹²⁷ He was invested with the title, *Coti Nagara Maha Caiya Bònòla Suthamma Laca*, and married a Burmese princess Nang Bua Kham, called Nang Suwanna Patumma Tewi.

¹²⁸ As he was very young his mother, Nang Tewi, was the Regent.

33	Tao Sao Wün	Dao Shaowen	1729–1767	1707–1730	6 sons: 1) Tao Wui Phin ¹²⁹ ; 2) Tao Cao Thian ¹³⁰ ; 3) Tao Cao 4) Paeng; Tao Suwan ¹³¹ ; 5) Tao Cao Saeng; 6) Tao Cao Cai ¹³²
34	Tao Wui Phin	Dao Weiping	1767–1777	1730–1745	1 son: Tao Yun Khò (Cao Fa Can) ¹³³
35	Tao Cao (Mòm) Suwan	Dao Shiwan	1777–1796	1746–1763	3 sons: Tao Thai Phin (Dao Taiping); Tao Thai Khò (Tao Taihe); Tao Thai Kang (Tao Taikang).
36	Tao Thai Khò, or Cao Mahawong	Dao Taihe	1797–1802	1764–1770	1 son: Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi)
37	Tao Yung Khò (Cao Fa Can) ¹³⁴	Dao Yonghe	–	1770–1779	Defected to Chiang Mai and died without an heir.
38	Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi) ¹³⁵	Dao Shengwu	1802–1833	–	

¹²⁹ He had a son called Tao Yung Khò (Cao Fa Can).

¹³⁰ He had two sons, Cao Maha Phom and Cao Mahakhanan. The Qing court prohibited them to be the *Saenwi Fa* of Sipsòng Panna. Cao Maha Phom had a son called Cao Maha Sang. Cao Mahakhannan had two sons, Cao Nò Kham and Cao Phom.

¹³¹ He had three sons: 1) Tao Thai Phin (Cao Kumman); 2) Tao Thai Khò (Cao Mòm Mahawong), who had a son called Tao Sunwu (Cao Maha Nòi); 3) Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mahawang), who had two sons, Tao Coen Cong (Cao Suca Wanna) and Tao Soen Cong (Cao Lammawuttha).

¹³² He had two sons, Cao Maha Phom and Cao Kha Tian.

¹³³ The Qing court prohibited him to be the *Saenwi Fa* of Sipsòng Panna.

¹³⁴ Tao Yung Khò from Moeng Luang was the *Saenwi Fa* of the Burmese court, not the Qing court.

¹³⁵ He was the *Saenwi Fa* of the Qing court.

39	Tao Thai Khang (Cao Mòm Ma- hawang) ¹³⁶	Dao Taikang		1780–1785 (as regent) 1786–1809	2 sons: Tao Coeng Cong (Cao Suca Wanna) and Tao Soen Cong (Dao Chengzong) or Cao Lammawutthi ¹³⁷ .
40	Tao Coen Cong (Cao Mòm Suca Wanna)	Dao Zhengzong	1834–1864	1788–1818	1 son: Cao Mòm Saeng (Tao Sin Fu) and adopted his nephew Tao Cin An (Cao Mò Sò).
41	Tao Cin An (Cao Mòm Sò or Cao Mòm Khung Kham) ¹³⁸	Dao Jun'an	–	1863–1879	3 sons: Cao Mòm Kham Lü (Tao Soen An); Cao Mòm Phomma; Cao Mòm Còm Moeng. ¹³⁹
42	Cao Mòm Saeng (Tao Sin Fu) ¹⁴⁰	Dao Taikang or Dao Bingfu	–	1880–1883	Died without a son.
43	Tao Soen An (Cao Mòm Kham Lü) ¹⁴¹	Dao Cheng'en	–	1884–1924	9 sons: 1) Cao Mòm Suwanna Pha Khang (Dao Dongliang); 2) Cao Mòm Kang (Dao Donggang); 3) Cao Mòm Kham Cün (Dao Donghua); 4) Cao Mòm Còm Moeng (Moeng Tui); 5) Cao Mòm Khòng Kham (Dao Dongcai); 6) Cao Mòm Saeng Moeng (Dao Dongting); 7) Cao

¹³⁶ He was appointed the *Saenwi Fa* of the Burmese court and invested with the title, *Coti Nagara Maha Wongsā Laca*. At that time, Sipsòng Panna had two *Saenwi Fa*.

¹³⁷ He had a son called Cao Mòm Khung Kham (Cao Mòm Sò), whose Chinese name was Tao Cin An (Dao Jun'an).

¹³⁸ He was killed by his cousin, Cao Mòm Saeng.

¹³⁹ The grew up in Chiang Tung under the protection of the Cao Fa after their father had been killed by their uncle, Cao Mòm Saeng.

¹⁴⁰ He was killed at Ban Sa in Chiang Rung by the lords of the *moeng* to the east of the Mekong River under the leadership of Moeng La. See Gao Lishi (1984), 41.2.

¹⁴¹ He had eight wives and many sons and daughters.

					Mòm Khung Kham (Dao Dongyu); 8) Cao Mòm Phomma (Dao Dongxin); 9) Cao Mòm Mani Kham (Dao Dongxin)
44	Tao Tung Laeng (Cao Mòm Suwanna Pha Khang)	Dao Dongliang	–	1927–1943	2 sons: Cao Mòm In (Dao Shide); Cao Mòm Mahaxai (Dao Shigui). Adopted his nephew, Cao Mòm Kham Lü (Dao Shixun) ¹⁴²
45	Tao Sū Sin (Cao Mòm Kham Lü) ¹⁴³	Dao Shixun	–	1947–1950	

¹⁴² Dao Shixun (Tao Sū Sin) is the son of Dao Dongliang number 6 brother Cao Mòm Saeng Moeng (Dao Dongting).

¹⁴³ He ruled over a year before Sipsòng Panna was liberated. In 1953 an autonomous sub-prefecture was established there. Cao Mòm Kham Lü, who is known in China by his Chinese name Dao Shixun, is living in Kunming, Yunnan.

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